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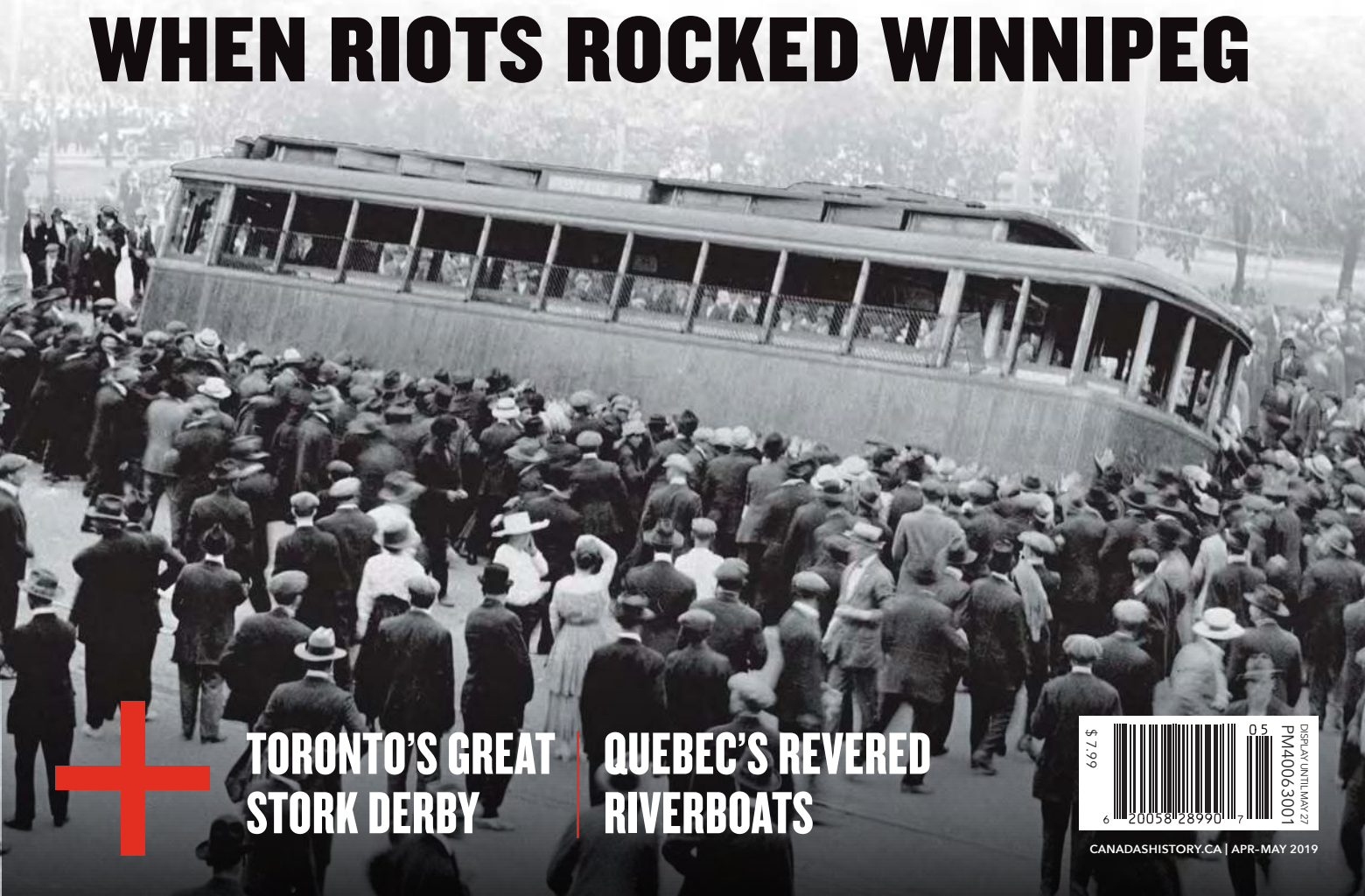

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The importance of understanding Canada by examining the histories of its peoples has been an anchoring belief of Canada's History Society. Established in 1994 through the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation, we bring relevance and awareness to our nation's diverse past, illuminating the people, places, and events that unite us as Canadians.

The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

SOCIÉTÉ HISTOIRE CANADA

L'importance de comprendre notre propre identité par le truchement de l'histoire est au cœur de la philosophie de la Société Histoire Canada. Le travail de la Société, fondée en 1994 grâce au généreux soutien de la Fondation d'histoire de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, consiste à faire connaître le passé diversifié de notre pays et à l'ancrer dans le contexte actuel, mais également à mettre en valeur les gens, les lieux et les événements qui nous unissent en tant que Canadiens.

La Société offre notamment aux Canadiens le magazine *Histoire Canada*, le magazine *Kayak : Navigue dans l'histoire du Canada*, le site HistoireCanada.ca et les Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général.

CANADA'S HISTORY · HISTOIRE CANADA · Kayak

HBC Corporate Collection. Used with permission. *Chief Trader Archibald McDonald Departing the Fraser, 1828* by Adam Sherriff Scott, ca. 1942.

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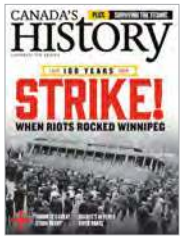
by Joe Calnan



On the cover

Rioters overturn a streetcar during the Winnipeg General Strike, June 21, 1919.

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DOWN WITH THE HIGH COST OF LIVING
TO HELL WITH THE ALIEN ENEMY
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COMING UP IN CANADA'S HISTORY

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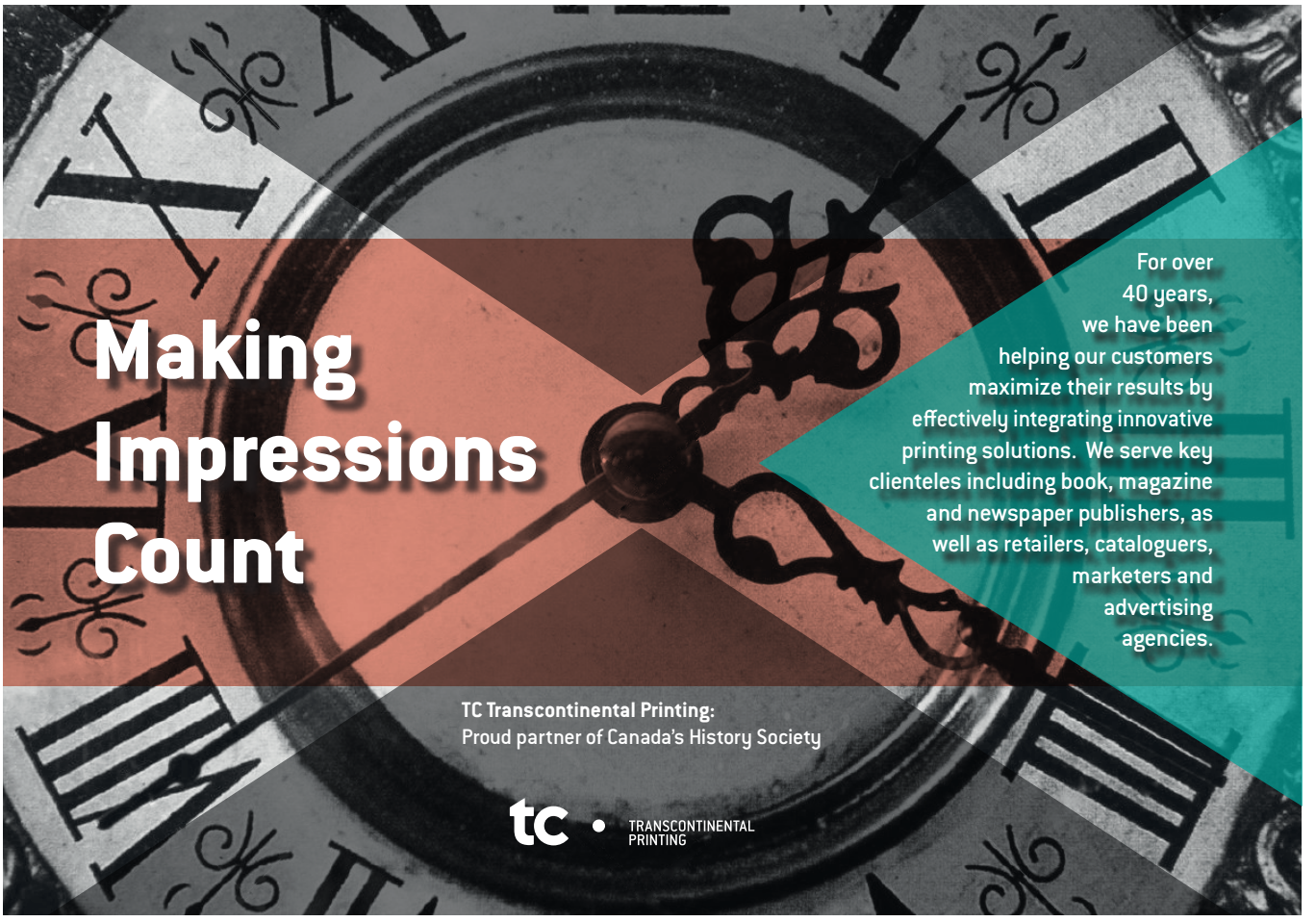
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Taking a stand

Pensions. Sick leave. Weekends off. Vacation pay. We take these benefits for granted today, but each was won thanks to the historic efforts of unions.

The labour movement arose in the mid-nineteenth century in response to the industrialization of society. During the 1800s, thousands of people, both in Europe and in North America, left their villages and towns to take up jobs in cities. In Canada, factories sprang up in major centres like Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg. The factories provided plenty of employment, but the work took a heavy toll on employees.

Lured by the promises of regular wages and upward mobility through honest work, many workers discovered that their dream jobs were in reality quite nightmarish when it came to quality of life. Many toiled seven days per week and up to eighteen hours a day in dangerous conditions. Taking time off — whether to care for sick children or to tend to a personal injury or illness — was a luxury most workers couldn't afford. Indeed, failing to show up for work due to family issues was often a firing offence.

Speaking of children, many were forced to work in order to help to support their families. Workplace safety was an afterthought, though, and injuries were common. In addition, some children and women were sexually abused and harassed by their employers without recourse.

This year marks a major milestone in the advancement of workers' rights. A century ago, beginning in May 1919, thousands of workers in Winnipeg rose up to demand fairer treatment by their employers.

What began as a simple labour dispute in the metal and building trades ballooned into a massive general strike that sparked sympathetic work actions across the country. The strike was put down by violent means in June 1919, and some strike leaders faced politically motivated criminal charges in its wake. This only served to further galvanize the labour movement.

In this issue, Brandon University historian James Naylor recalls how governments and business leaders colluded to exacerbate ethnic and economic divides during the Winnipeg General Strike. Blaming the work stoppages on "enemy aliens," meaning non-British immigrants, officials sought to paint the labour revolt as a Bolshevik plot — essentially, a Russian revolution redux in Western Canada. In the end, the repression only served to strengthen the labour movement.

Elsewhere in this issue, we explore the tragic aftermath of Toronto's Great Stork Derby; we take a journey on a historic Quebec batteau; and we remember the life of a woman who lived through not one but two of the past century's worst disasters — the sinking of the *Titanic*, and the Halifax Explosion.

In the meantime, visitors to Winnipeg this spring and summer will be able to relive the events of the strike: A musical production on the topic will run through the summer at a local outdoor theatre, and a motion picture on the strike will debut later in the year.

Mark Reid

CONTRIBUTORS

James Naylor, a labour historian at Manitoba's Brandon University, wrote "Standing Together." He is the author of *The New Democracy: Challenging the Social Order in Industrial Ontario, 1914-1925* and *The Fate of Labour Socialism: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Dream of a Working-Class Future*, both published by University of Toronto Press. His current research explores the history of Winnipeg following the Second World War.

Joel Fishbane, the author of "Mother of Sorrows," writes fiction, non-fiction, plays, and screenplays. His novel *The Thunder of Giants*, about the Nova Scotia giantess Anna Swan, is available from St. Martin's Press. His other non-fiction work has appeared in *The Writer*, *Canadian Theatre Review*, *Theatre Journal*, and on HowlRound.com. He is pursuing an M.F.A. in creative writing at the University of British Columbia and is developing a play about the Great Toronto Stork Derby.

Michael Dupuis wrote "Dodging Disaster." The author of *Winnipeg's General Strike: Reports from the Front Lines* (2014), *Bearing Witness: Journalists, Record Keepers and the Halifax Explosion* (2017), and *The Winnipeg General Strike: Ordinary Men And Women Under Extraordinary Circumstances* (2018), Dupuis lives in Victoria.

Joe Calnan is the author of "The Unbeatable Batteau." He's a two-time recipient of the Henry N. Barkhausen Award for Original Research in Great Lakes Maritime History for his investigations into seventeenth-century French boat building on the Great Lakes. Calnan trained as a boat-builder before moving to Nova Scotia's French Shore in 1988 to work in the last days of Canada's commercial wooden boat building industry. He teaches at St. Lawrence College in Kingston, Ontario, and consults and contracts on heritage craftsmanship projects.

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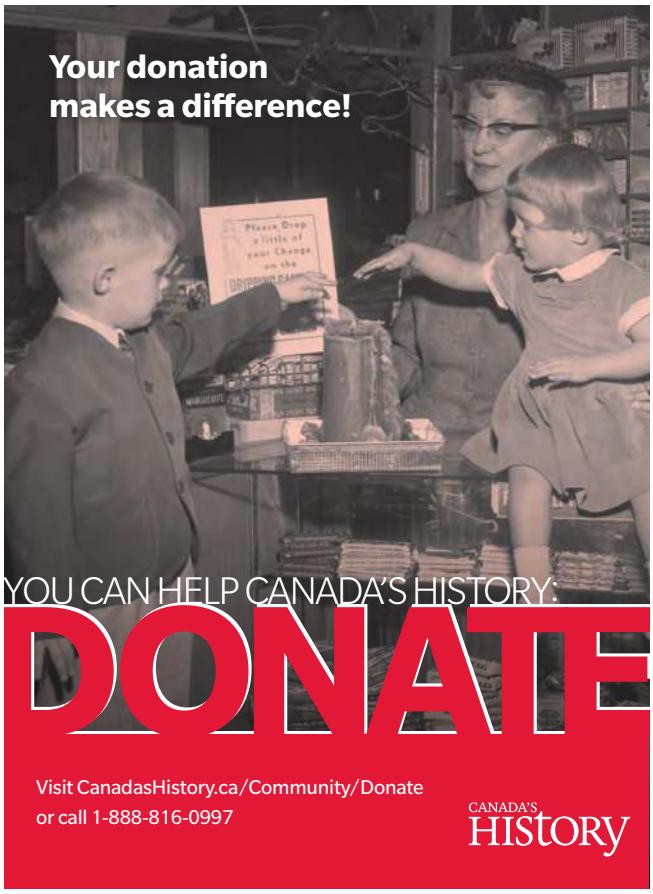

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Family connection

What a surprise it was to see a photo of my father, Robert Westley Christy (far right), as a young RCMP constable in "Magnetic North" (*Canada's History*, December 2018-January 2019). My dad did two northern postings. The first was at Pond Inlet, in what was then the Northwest Territories, from 1932 to 1934, and the second was at Arctic Red River, a tributary to the Mackenzie River, in 1936 — which is likely when Richard Hourde took the picture. My dad had an attack of appendicitis in 1937 and was sent to a hospital in Aklavik, which was a turning point in his life: He met my mom there.

My parents came out of the North in the spring of 1939, and when they arrived in Toronto to plan their June 1940 wedding they were stunned to find out that my dear, bossy maternal grandmother had organized the whole show for — are you ready? — the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month (11:00 a.m. on November 11, 1939). My parents were married for thirty-five years and had five children. Mom died in April 1975, and Dad died in January 1996.

Robert J. Christy
Ottawa

Then versus now

Thank you for the essays in "The Trials of John A." (February-March 2019) discussing attitudes toward the deeds and misdeeds of those who founded our country. The authors presented fair-minded analyses that contrasted nicely with the discussions Charlotte Gray referred to as "drenched in moral judgments about our forebears, without any acknowledgement that our predecessors lived in a world radically different from ours."

We can and should measure the sins of our forebears, but we have no moral right to judge them by the standards of our time and place. Judging them self-righteously from the advantage of 150 years of progress is unfair, dishonest, and ultimately meaningless.

Bill Longstaff
Calgary

Creating criteria

I would like to thank Frédéric Boily, Charlotte Gray, Lee Maracle, and Christopher Moore for widening the views of fellow Canadians ("The Trials of John A.," February-March 2019). However, I have to admit that I was a little disappointed that there wasn't a more nuanced discussion on the question of commemoration, especially as it relates to historical or geopolitical context. When we commemorate Sir John A. Macdonald — or any other historical figure within the country — with a plaque, a statue, or a school, perhaps we should ask ourselves, does that particular geographical location have historical or political significance? There are many locations that are relevant to Macdonald that would fit the bill, including Kingston, Ontario, where his gravesite is located, Charlottetown, where negotiations for Confederation began, and the grounds of any provincial legislature. Using this criterion, most Ontario schools bearing his name would likely fail the litmus test, as would Victoria's city hall, since it is a civic — not federal — space with little direct relation to Macdonald.

Perhaps resolving the debate over Macdonald's heroism or villainy is not so much about winning ideological high ground in the court of public opinion as it is about devising fair and rational commemorative criteria that respect the viewpoints and histories of all Canadians.

David N. Cooper
Brampton, Ontario

Words matter

I enjoyed "Magnetic North" (December 2018-January 2019), but I was concerned by language used in reference to Richard Hourde's encounters with Anglican missionaries. Author Katherine Schumm writes, "Hourde made friends easily, chumming around with Anglican missionaries and local folks." This makes the missionaries seem like a bunch of friendly, jovial people. Schumm later writes, "He jotted down quick notes about how well [the Indigenous residents] spoke English, courtesy of Anglican missionaries who had introduced the language." My understanding is that these people were part of a mission to convert Indigenous peoples, eliminating and minimizing their cultures. "Forced the language" is more accurate wording.

Canada's History often demonstrates a priority in valuing Indigenous cultures by exposing injustices that occurred over the past several hundred years. This is why I'm surprised that the magazine published the above-mentioned references, as if sugar-coating reality.

Jeff Arbus
Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario

Erratum

In "Magnetic North," (December 2018-January 2019) R.W. Christy's last name is incorrectly spelled as "Christie." We regret the error.

During the fur trade era, outposts regularly received "packets" of correspondence. Email your comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to Canada's History, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

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Five shop stewards with the Marine Workers and Boilermakers Union have lunch at the Burrard Dry Dock in North Vancouver, B.C., in 1942.

NORTH VANCOUVER MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES

HISTORY MAKERS

Building British Columbia

Project explores province's labour movement and the people involved.
by Marianne Helm

When Ken Novakowski taught high school social studies and history, he struggled to find classroom resources that showed how everyday workers contributed to shaping British Columbia.

"As a teacher in the 1970s, I often found that my students did not see themselves or their families in the history that was being taught," said Novakowski, who was involved in the British Columbia Teachers' Federation union.

Novakowski felt it was important that students know there is more to history than the stories of politicians and entrepreneurs.

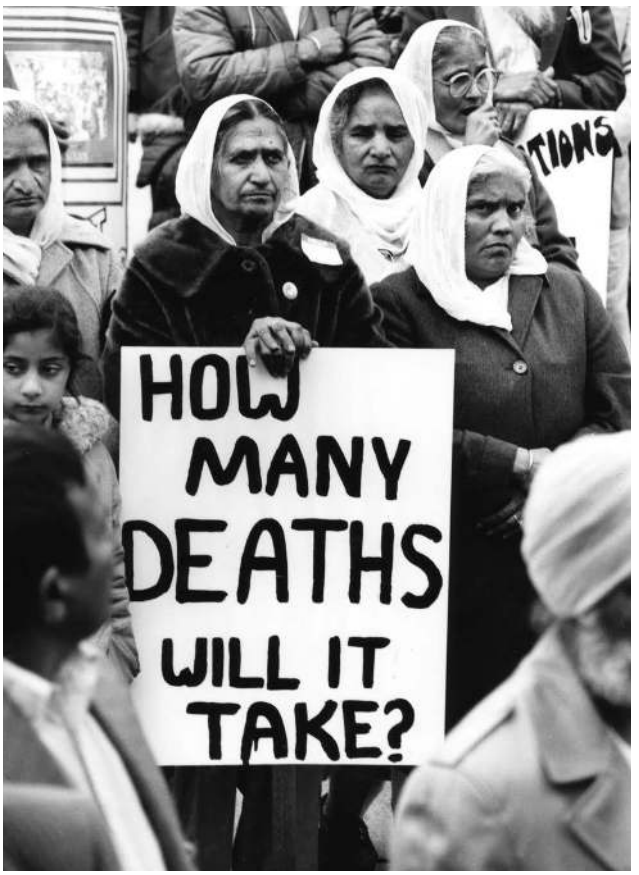
"When we did labour-history issues, many [students] had their interest piqued because we were talking about ordinary folks like them and their families," Novakowski said.

From lumber mill fires, to asbestos exposure, to coal mining disasters and subsequent strikes, the B.C. labour movement persistently pushed for health and safety regulations to protect workers facing dangerous working conditions.

But Novakowski couldn't find resources that reflected this history for his classroom.

So the BC Labour Heritage Centre Society, which was founded in 2004, created a labour history curriculum project. Both current and retired teachers contributed, and Novakowski chaired the project from 2011 to 2017.

The project offers case studies, lesson plans, and multimedia projects and activities about British Columbia's labour movement, acknowledging the role of working people and their unions and how they helped to build the province.



Top: Farm workers in 1983 protest in Vancouver over their exclusion from provincial pesticide health and safety regulations.

Above: Workers in Vancouver protest proposed legislation in 1983 that included cuts to social services and rights for landlords to evict tenants without notice.

Thousands of students have had access to the resources. For instance, a grade twelve lesson about social justice, workers, and the global economy has been downloaded nearly four thousand times.

History Makers is an ongoing celebration of community-based history initiatives across Canada. The Labour History Project was shortlisted for the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Community Programming.

TOP: CRAIG BERGGOLD. LOWER: PACIFIC TRIBUNE COLLECTION/SFU/DAN KEETON

BY THE NUMBERS

Canada's national sports

Twenty-five years ago, Canada declared its national sports: lacrosse and hockey. Lacrosse originated among First Nations in North America as a game dedicated to the Creator, with one of the first Canadian references to the sport recorded in 1637. The first organized game of hockey was played in Montreal in 1875, but the sport's birthplace is still debated.

140

Number of years ago Canada's first organized hockey team, the McGill University Hockey Club, was founded.

10

Number of players each team has on the field at one time in men's field lacrosse. Historically, thousands might compete in a single game.

1867

The year that the National Lacrosse Association of Canada (today called the Canadian Lacrosse Association) was formed.

Number of lacrosse variations that Canadians play: field lacrosse, box lacrosse, and inter-crosse (a recreational, non-contact version).

3

Combined total of Olympic gold medals won by Canada's men's and women's hockey teams, the most ice hockey gold medals won by any nation.

13

PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

In celebration of our land

Twenty years ago, the map of Canada changed. On April 1, 1999, a border was drawn through the Northwest Territories, allowing for a new territory, Nunavut, to emerge. Nunavut means "our land" in Inuktitut. In this photo, three girls wearing caribou-skin coats play a traditional game in Iqaluit on the eve of Nunavut's creation. (Iqaluit is today the capital of the territory.)

At the time, Nunavut's population was about 26,800. It has since grown to 38,000. Inuit make up eighty-five per cent of the territory's population. Their push for better governance of the land started in the 1970s. After extensive land-claim negotiations between Inuit and the federal government, residents in 1982 voted in favour of dividing the Northwest Territories. Ten years later, another plebiscite approved the proposed boundary between the two new territories.

The *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act* — the largest Indigenous land-claims settlement in Canada — and the *Nunavut Act* were both adopted in 1993. It took another six years to determine how the territory would be governed, including creating new government departments and selecting the territory's first premier, Paul Okalik.

The territory has four official languages: Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun, English, and French. Eighty-three per cent of Nunavummiut — people who live in Nunavut — speak Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun as their mother tongue. Promoting the Inuit language as the working language in the public sector is one of the priorities outlined in Turaaqtavut, the mandate published by the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut that sets the vision for the territory up to 2021.

— Kaitlin Vitt

CP IMAGES/ KEVIN FRAYER

MAPANNAPOLIS
Black Loyalists of Annapolis County
The map used for this project contains three layers, these include Black Loyalist Properties, 19th Century Black Settlements, and 19th Century Black Settlements Location Uncertain. Scroll down to learn more on Black Loyalists of Annapolis County.
NEW CALEDONIA
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HISTORY MAKERS

Web-based maps share the stories of Annapolis County.

Charting a course to the future

Nova Scotia digital-mapping project links generations. *by Marianne Helm*

In Annapolis County, Nova Scotia, students and seniors are using their skills — both new and old — to reveal their community's history one layer at a time.

The Annapolis Community Mapping Project, or Mapannapolis, pairs area residents' historical knowledge with the Web-mapping know-how of local college students to enhance online historical maps of the region.

The intergenerational project unveils pieces of history that are then detailed and documented on historical geographic maps. (See CanadasHistory.ca/Mapannapolis.)

"Mapannapolis is a platform for communities to share their view of Annapolis County with the world," said Heather LeBlanc, the project's designer.

What started out as an application for a federal grant in 2012 became a continuing, collaborative project between local volunteers — many of them seniors — and students from the Centre of Geographic Sciences at Nova Scotia Community College.

"Project participants are passionate about their stories," LeBlanc said. "Our community map-makers access the students' specialized knowledge while sharing their community interests with them. Students consolidate their learning by in turn becoming teachers. It is a symbiotic relationship."

The project has revealed previously unknown details about the region. For example, while digitizing old maps of the Annapolis River estuary, the team uncovered cartographic evidence of up to forty-five wharves that had disappeared over time.

History Makers is an ongoing celebration of community-based history initiatives across Canada. Mapannapolis was a finalist for the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Community Programming.

FROM THE ARCHIVES

A man splits hickory logs into long, narrow pieces.

MAPANNAPOLIS.CA. BIL LINGARD

Team effort

Like lacrosse itself, the sport's main equipment has evolved. *by Kaitlin Vitt*

In 1968, the Chisholm Lacrosse Manufacturing Company on Ontario's Cornwall Island produced ninety-seven per cent of the lacrosse sticks used around the world. That same year, a fire destroyed the company's factory.

Bil Lingard shares the story of this company in "Lacrosse — the fastest game on two feet" (*The Beaver*, Autumn 1969). Cornwall Island, in the St. Lawrence River, is part of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, which straddles the Ontario-Quebec and Canada-United States borders. About eighty people from this community worked at the factory, and, after the fire, they took it upon themselves to meet the demand for lacrosse sticks. Within a couple of months, lacrosse-stick production reached one half of its pre-fire level, and soon a new factory opened to continue production.

Each lacrosse stick took about a year to make. Craftsmen split hickory logs and then let them season outside for eight months. Next they steamed and bent the wood to form the head — the part that would have netting. They drilled holes on the head before it was sanded and lacquered. To complete production, women laced the head, using leather or nylon to form the pocket.

"There is slight likelihood that automation will ever threaten the workers' jobs," wrote Lingard. "It might seem that an automatic bending machine, for example, would bend every stick the same amount. Not so. Due to variations in the wood fibres, some sticks cannot take as much bend as others and therefore split."

Even with today's industrial advancements that allow the making of lacrosse sticks out of plastic and fibreglass, people still make traditional wooden sticks by hand.

The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Visit **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive** to read ninety-plus years of stories.

Top: In this illustration from the 1830s, artist George Catlin depicts hundreds of players competing in a lacrosse game on a field about 230 metres long.

Bottom left: A worker steams a stick to bend it into a hooked shape to form the head of a lacrosse stick.

Bottom right: A woman weaves the netting on a lacrosse stick while working in her home.

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This Nuxalk wooden shredder would have been used to fray cedar bark into fibres.

The rounded edge of this Nuu-chah-nulth bark shredder might have been used for fine finishing work.

ARTIFACTS FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 1508 AND 1000) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

Bark shredders

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

Northwest Coast Indigenous peoples used various styles of bark shredders to help soften cedar bark into fibrous layers that could then be further processed to make baskets, ropes, or woven capes and clothing. The shorter shredder shown here is a Nuu-chah-nulth tool carved from whalebone. It has a softer edge than the longer wooden variety from the Nuxalk Nation. The west coast of Vancouver Island is Nuu-chah-nulth territory and is known for whaling and fishing, while Nuxalk territory encompasses areas in and around Bella Coola on the north-central coast of mainland British Columbia. Both of these shredders would have served similar purposes, although perhaps the rounded edge on the Nuu-chah-nulth whalebone shredder was reserved for fine finishing work.

— Amelia Fay, curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

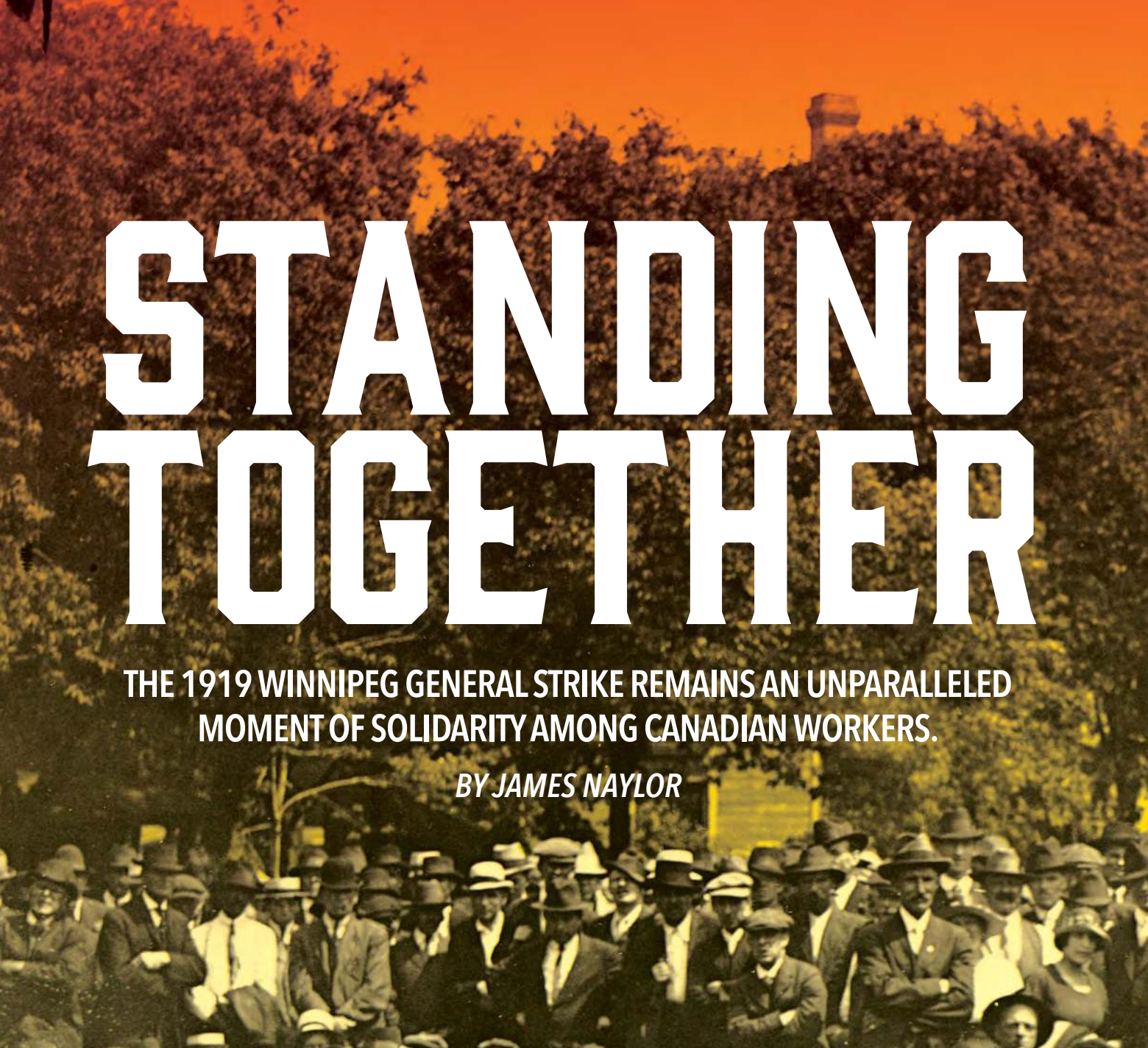
HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

STANDING TOGETHER

THE 1919 WINNIPEG GENERAL STRIKE REMAINS AN UNPARALLELED MOMENT OF SOLIDARITY AMONG CANADIAN WORKERS.

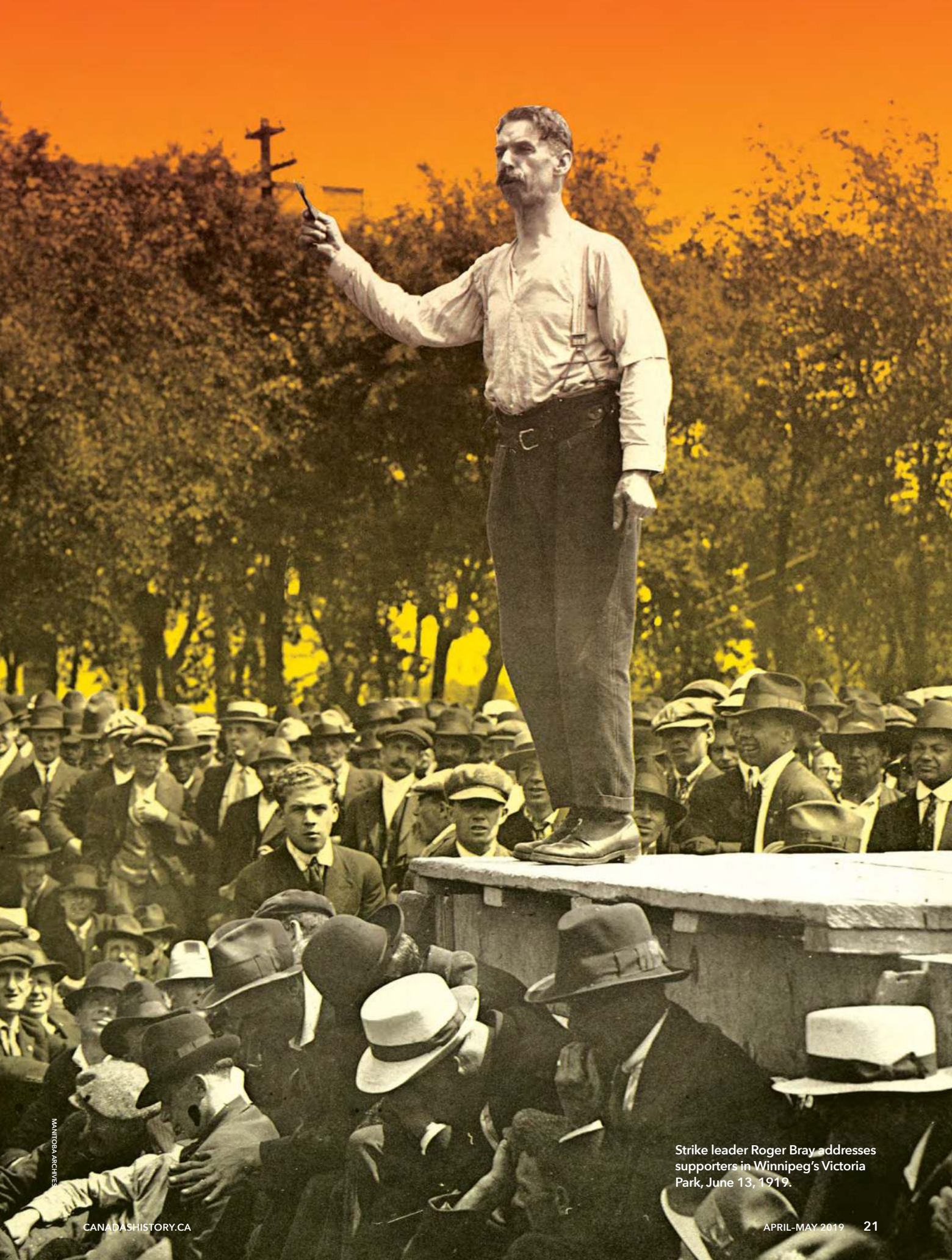
BY JAMES NAYLOR



ON SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1919, Winnipeg's Main Street was in chaos. The broad expanse in front of city hall echoed with horses' hooves, the crack of batons, and gunfire as the North West Mounted Police and recently recruited "special" police attacked a peaceful crowd rallied by First World War veterans who had recently returned from the trenches of Europe. Two protesters were killed and dozens were wounded among the crowd that had assembled to voice support for striking workers in the city.

Over the six preceding weeks those workers had stood solidly against efforts to cajole or to threaten them to return to work, and on this day they were defying the mayor's ban on parades in order to protest the early morning arrests of strike leaders a few days earlier. The terrible events of June 21 — "Bloody Saturday" — reflected both the strength and the effectiveness of the workers' protest, as well as the fear and anger it had unleashed among the governing and business elites of both the city and the country. Much more than simply a limited action by organized labour, the Winnipeg General Strike was a revolt by tens of thousands of ordinary people. How had it come to this?

The immediate answer lay in the strike itself. The core issue seemed unexceptional: Workers in Winnipeg's metal and building trades had gone on strike in early May of 1919 to force employers to negotiate. What followed, though, was remarkable. When the strikers appealed for support from the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, it agreed to organize a general strike. The council sent the proposal to its affiliated unions, whose members voted yes



MANITOBA ARCHIVES

Strike leader Roger Bray addresses supporters in Winnipeg's Victoria Park, June 13, 1919.

by a margin of about eleven thousand to five hundred.

The strike was set to start at eleven o'clock on the morning of May 15, but when the day shift of telephone operators did not show up for work at seven o'clock it was clear the strike had begun. The phones fell dead. Soon factories and shops closed, streetcars disappeared from the city streets, mail went undelivered — the city ground to a halt. The ranks of the strikers swelled to more than thirty thousand, considerably more than the number of unionized workers in Winnipeg. In total, about half of the families in Winnipeg had a member on strike.

Returned soldiers were a huge and volatile force in the city and, like the city itself, were divided in their sympathies. The majority were working men, and they soundly defeated a motion from the leadership of the veterans' organization that they remain neutral. At a mass meeting held on May 15, rank-and-file soldiers voted their full sympathy for the strike. The spark — that unexceptional demand for collective bargaining — had ignited a blaze.

IN 1918, RECORD NUMBERS OF WORKERS IN NORTH AMERICA HAD GONE ON STRIKE, AS IN A ONE-DAY WALKOUT IN VANCOUVER IN AUGUST.

A deep undercurrent of anger had been exposed, and its sources were not hard to identify; indeed, many of them were long-standing. With the rapid settlement of the prairies around the turn of the twentieth century, Winnipeg had become a boom city, with clear winners and losers. It had more millionaires for its population than any other city in Canada, but it also had sprawling slums. Skilled craftsmen faced hard-nosed employers unwilling to cede any of their power and wealth. The North End, peopled by Ukrainians, Jews, and other immigrants, mostly from Eastern Europe, was a world separated from "British" Winnipeg by language, culture, and poverty.

What united workers — from the most poorly paid immigrant to highly skilled British-Canadian craftsmen — was a precarious labour market. When a deep economic depression hit in the years around the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, hardship was widespread. The war brought little relief. Eventually there were plenty of jobs, but unprecedented inflation meant it was no easier to put food on the table. At the same time, profiteers raked in fortunes supplying shoddy goods to the soldiers overseas and provided a steady stream of scandals.

A profound sense of injustice among workers, along with growing demand for their labour in the war economy, fuelled a new militancy. Workers joined unions at an unprecedented pace, and the number of strikes skyrocketed even before the war was over. These newly unionized and radicalized workers increasingly asked difficult questions. Many of them saw the war's appalling waste of life as an indictment of the entire social system and blamed capitalism as the source of militarism and imperialism. At a meeting in January 1919, George Armstrong, who would be elected to the provincial legislature in the wake of the strike, spoke of those connections. "During the four years of war, the wealth of Canada had increased from eight and a half billions to nineteen and a half billions, in spite of it being the most destructive period in the world's history. What better scheme had our ruling class for the future to increase the nation's wealth than that just past?"

Working people in general had been called upon to make great sacrifices in the interest of the state; in return, they had been promised, in the vaguest of terms, a better future when the war was won. Although they met this promise with suspicion, they were beginning to find hope in their own efforts, as labour became a force for change around the world. Most dramatically, workers had overthrown the tsar in Russia, declared a workers' state, and taken the country out of the war. In Germany, sailors mutinied, and workers' uprisings swept much of the country as armistice negotiations were underway, hastening the end of the war itself. Europe seemed to be on fire, and North America was perhaps not far behind. In 1918, record numbers of workers in North America went on strike, as in a one-day walkout in Vancouver in August. And in February 1919 a general strike broke out in Seattle.

Winnipeg workers were feeling their own power. On four occasions in 1918 organized labour was able to use the threat of its collective weight to win concessions from employers. At a major convention of Western Canadian labour in Calgary in March 1919, delegates discussed abandoning the old structure of craft organization; instead they proposed a "One Big Union" of all workers with the general strike as their key weapon. Unions were growing quickly — five thousand

TIME OF TURMOIL

APRIL 24, 1919

Metal and building trades unions present requests for wage increases and a forty-four-hour work week to the Winnipeg Builders' Exchange.

Top: Anti-strike members of the Great War Veterans Association demonstrate at city hall, June 4, 1919. Above: Manitoba Premier Tobias Norris addresses the GWVA rally.

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

Winnipeggers joined unions in the first nineteen days of May — and they were becoming more united. Unions representing individual crafts increasingly joined together to bargain and to strike, markedly increasing their effectiveness.

At the beginning of May, when the Winnipeg metal trades unions demanded to negotiate through a central council of all the unions in the industry, the employers dug in their heels. With hundreds of thousands of steelworkers, coal miners, and textile workers striking in the United States, employers felt they not only had to hold their ground on the issues being contested but, moreover, had to defeat what they saw as the threat of the growing power of labour.

Such active solidarity, Winnipeg workers hoped, could help them to obtain two things: collective bargaining and a living wage. Members of the city's elite painted the actions of labour very differently. The *Citizen*, the newspaper of the Citizens' Committee of 1,000 — the organization of Winnipeg employers and professionals who opposed the strike — declared the workers' actions "a Revolution … a serious attempt to overturn British institutions … and supplant them with the Russian Bolshevik system of Soviet Rule."

Radical ideas were indeed growing amongst a segment of labour. Many participants at the Calgary convention loudly heralded events in Russia, and growing connections between union membership and political radicals were apparent in the

MAY 1, 1919

Unions represented by the Building Trades Council go on strike after three fruitless months of negotiations.

MAY 2, 1919

The Metal Trades Council calls for a strike of its members at three large workplaces.

Western Labor News

SPECIAL STRIKE EDITION No. 14

UNITED WE STAND

Soldiers Back Strikers to Limit

LABOR'S DEMANDS

MAY 11, 1919

Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council (WTLC) members start voting on whether to walk out in sympathy.

Strikers mass outside the city's Board of Trade offices, June 4, 1919.

famous Walker Theatre meeting in Winnipeg in December 1918. Co-sponsored by the Trades and Labor Council and the Socialist Party, the meeting attracted 1,700 attendees who cheered the Russian Revolution. But on both occasions the speeches focused on Canada, the federal government's restriction of civil liberties, and the plight of workers in this country. Speakers and delegates alike were inspired by tales of the power of labour in Russia to fight oppression and to resist war.

"It is true that the capitalist class of the world has fastened upon the rising democracies chains which bid fair to stay, and unless we rise to the occasion and break them, the Labor movement throughout the world will forever be in bondage," said Bill Hoop, a Walker Theatre speaker and long-time activist. "Today, in spite of the world-wide suffering, we have a glimpse of a world just a little beyond, which looks beautiful."

THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE ATTEMPTED TO UNDERMINE THE STRIKE, CLAIMING THAT "ENEMY ALIENS" WERE IMPORTING BOLSHEVIK IDEAS.

The size and character of the 1919 strike sent shock waves through Winnipeg's elite. The labour movement — which many employers had opposed all along — had transformed from one made up mainly of what those elites considered "respectable" British-Canadian skilled workers to one that was not only becoming more powerful but was also attracting more supposedly "dangerous" workers drawn from the ranks of eastern European immigrants who were receptive to socialist ideas. These less-skilled workers had become increasingly active in labour activities during the war, with many participating in the Walker Theatre meeting and, in May 1919, joining the general strike.

This was an astounding development, given the deep ethnic divisions that ran through Winnipeg. As recently as January 1919, a large crowd made up mainly of returned soldiers had smashed store windows in the North End, broken into the homes of apparent "enemy aliens," demanded to see naturalization papers, and made immigrants and those whom the crowd considered radicals kiss the Union Jack. The city's daily newspapers and the mayor egged them on, and no arrests were made. The Citizens' Committee attempted to exploit such sentiments in order to undermine the strike, claiming that "enemy aliens" were importing Bolshevik ideas and causing

MAY 13, 1919
Before all ballots are cast, the WTLC announces that there is a majority in favour of a general strike.

MAY 15, 1919
The general strike begins. Thousands of unorganized workers join those who are unionized.

MAY 16, 1919
The Citizens' Committee of 1,000 forms to oppose the strike.

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

Winnipeg workers to abandon "British democracy."

To the surprise of those making such arguments, their appeals fell flat. Strikers were aware that the leadership of the strike included few non-British immigrants. The returned soldiers — whom the Citizens' Committee felt would be particularly susceptible to such a narrow patriotism — were unmoved. Although many pro-strike soldiers continued to deride "enemy aliens," their anger against the authorities was too strong. As one veteran declared of the Mounties on Bloody Saturday, "They treated us worse than we ever treated Fritzy." If anything, more and more Winnipeg workers acted in keeping with the Calgary convention's declaration that there was "No Alien but the Capitalist."

The Committee of Fifteen, elected to lead the general strike, was aware that disorder would play into the Citizens' Committee rhetoric and instructed strikers to "do nothing" — to avoid confrontations with authorities or with potential strike-breakers. Strikers gathered almost daily near city hall, in

MAY 22, 1919

Arthur Meighen, acting federal minister of justice, and Senator Gideon Robertson, federal minister of labour, arrive in Winnipeg.

MAY 25, 1919

Robertson threatens postal workers with firing unless they return to work. Five thousand strikers meet in Victoria Park to reject this ultimatum and others.

MAY 29, 1919

The city police chief notifies officers that they have until 1pm the next afternoon to sign a pledge not to participate in the strike. They refuse but vow to uphold the law.

A mother and daughter from the Citizens' Committee of 1,000 staff gas pumps left idle by striking workers, May 1919.

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

Victoria Park, or in other locations around the city to hear updates on the strike, discuss events, and rally their spirits. They also urged the city's police, who were unionized and generally sympathetic to the strike, to stay on the job and to ensure order. If labour held solid and avoided provocation, workers were sure they could win.

Adding to their confidence was the feeling that they were riding a wave. General strikes — or something close to them — broke out in as many as three dozen towns and cities from Amherst, Nova Scotia, to Victoria. While weaker labour unity in the crucial industrial city of Toronto led to the defeat of the short general strike there, in every significant city in Western Canada the strikes were, at least partly, in support of Winnipeg workers.

JUNE 1, 1919

Ten thousand First World War veterans march to the Manitoba legislature in support of the strike.

JUNE 9, 1919

Virtually all Winnipeg police officers are fired. The Citizens' Committee begins recruiting replacements, known as "specials," to enforce order.

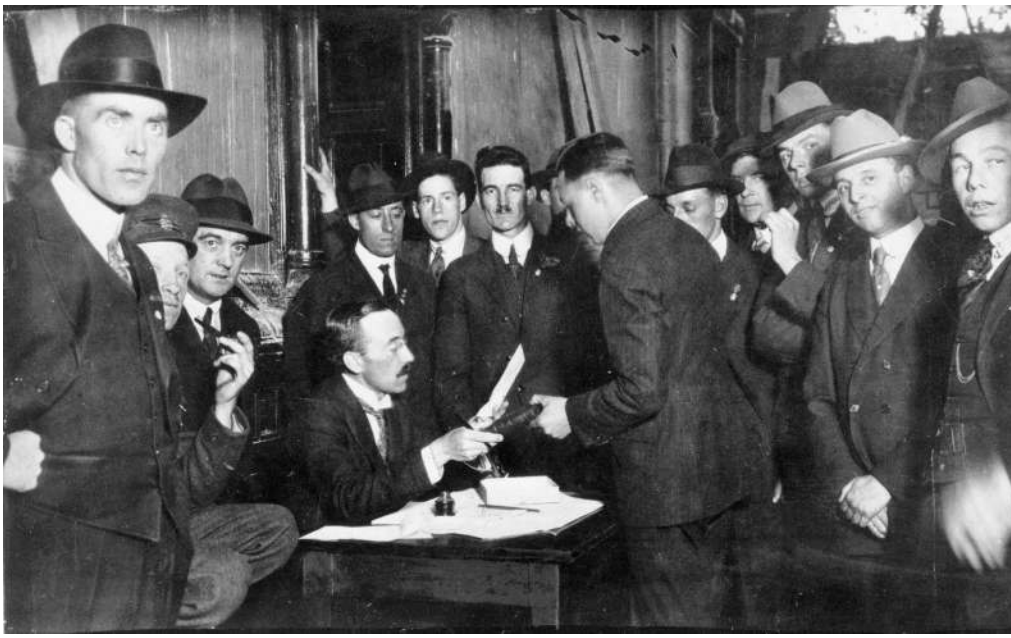
JUNE 16–17, 1919

Mounted police arrest ten purported strike leaders and take them to Stony Mountain penitentiary north of the city, resulting in a flood of protest across Canada.

Saskatoon provides perhaps the best example. Although there were no outstanding local disputes in that city, Saskatoon's Trades and Labour Council voted unanimously to endorse a general strike in sympathy with Winnipeg's. Thirteen of the seventeen unions in the city voted to strike, staying out until Winnipeg strikers returned to work. It was a testimony to the spirit of solidarity that workers in other cities were willing to endure weeks of deprivation and threats of dismissal in support of a cause that had been undertaken hundreds of kilometres away and whose outcome was increasingly uncertain.

Of course, workers who lived near the margin at the best of times found it difficult to struggle through a long strike; that they did so speaks to their anger and resolve. Many, no doubt, had assumed that a general strike would immediately force the hands of the employers. When it didn't, the strike became a long, hard slog. In an article titled "Strikers, Go Forward, Not Back," the strike bulletin of the *Western Labor News* reminded those who were growing discouraged that, "To go back breaks the solidarity of the strikers and puts those who go back on the side of the bosses and so helps to defeat those who still remain on strike." Solidarity from across the country sustained Winnipeg workers' morale. A Winnipeg crowd of eight thousand greeted B.C. labour leader W.A. Pritchard with thunderous applause when he told them, "If you are whipped, we are whipped. If you go down, we will go down in the same boat. But if you are to be victorious, we must help you. And we will." Across Canada, vast numbers of workers felt they were in the fight together.

When the federal government first threatened and then fired Winnipeg postal workers for participating in the general strike, postal workers and their supporters in several cities walked off the job. The federal government was also deeply worried that the general strike would involve not only the Winnipeg railway shop craftsmen who had already joined the general strike but also the running trades (employees who worked on the trains), a result that would shut down the national transportation system. In that case, it was easy to imagine that the strike would spread throughout the region and quite possibly the country. After all, the issues that had provoked the general strike were hardly confined to Winnipeg.



Above: With most of the police force fired for refusing to pledge not to join the strike, hastily hired "special" police officers are sworn in.

Left: Some of the men arrested in connection with the strike pose at Stony Mountain penitentiary in June 1919. Back row, from left: Roger Bray, George Armstrong, John Queen, R.B. Russell, R.J. Johns, W.A. Pritchard. Front row: William Ivens, A.A. Heaps.

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

JUNE 21, 1919

The specials and mounted police attack participants in a silent parade called to protest the arrests. "Bloody Saturday" ends in one death and scores of injuries. A second man dies later.

JUNE 26, 1919

At 11am in the morning, the Winnipeg General Strike ends. Hundreds of people involved in the strike will be arrested over the coming days.

Manitoba Free Press

ONE KILLED, SCORES HURT IN RIOT FOLLOWING AN ATTEMPT TO PARADE

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

With support for the strike extensive and growing, governments and employers knew defeating the strikers without provoking a wider conflict would be a challenge. Winnipeg civic leaders and the Citizens' Committee didn't trust the police — the police union had recently voted to strike over wages, although a settlement had been reached. On May 29, the city demanded that each officer sign a loyalty oath, promising not to affiliate with "outside" organizations (such as the labour council) and not to join the sympathetic strike. In spite of the police union's assurances to city council, most officers refused to sign the oath; to the authorities, that refusal seemed to indicate that the police were unreliable.

On June 9, almost the entire force was dismissed and replaced by untrained, anti-strike "special" police, soon simply known as specials. The strikers' newspaper labelled them thugs. The day after they were hired, the specials started throwing their weight around, attempting to disperse a crowd near the downtown intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street and provoking a two-hour melee, which they lost. It was clear even to the Citizens' Committee that the workers controlled the streets of Winnipeg.

At about the same time, another danger emerged: a negotiated settlement. A mediation committee organized by the railway running trades seemed to be making headway in the metal trades dispute, perhaps leading to the recognition of the metal trades council. The Citizens' Committee, and particularly lawyer and former Winnipeg mayor A.J. Andrews, enlisted Gideon Robertson, the federal minister of labour and a Conservative trade unionist, to prevent a settlement in which the unions could be seen as having made gains. Andrews believed a definitive labour defeat was necessary to discredit the general strike as a tactic.

It was Andrews, acting of his own accord and disregarding his lack of legal authority, who decided the time had come.

Left: A crowd of demonstrators overturns a streetcar in front of Winnipeg's city hall on June 21, 1919.

Top: Mounted police charge into the crowd of marchers on "Bloody Saturday."

Above: A tumultuous day ends with specials, North West Mounted Police officers, and federal troops attempting to keep the peace, June 21, 1919.

He organized raids and arrests during the night of June 16–17, 1919, that targeted the most well-known leaders associated with Winnipeg labour and socialism. R.B. Russell, William Ivens, John Queen, A.A. Heaps, Roger Bray, and George Armstrong were arrested in Winnipeg and charged with seditious conspiracy, as were R.J. Johns in Montreal and W.A. Pritchard in Calgary. Five "aliens" — non-British immigrants — were also picked up, in large part, it seems, to validate the idea that the strike was a conspiracy led by foreigners: Mike Verenczuk (a victim of mistaken identity), Michael Charitonoff, Moses Almazoff, Oscar Schoppelrei, and Samuel Blumenberg. These arrests led directly to the events of Bloody Saturday.

The arrests were the final attempt to nail shut the coffin of radicalism and to disperse the general strike. Andrews again took the lead in the subsequent prosecutions, overcoming the hesitations of the provincial and federal governments. He had successfully pushed Sir Robert Borden's government in Ottawa to amend the *Immigration Act* to allow the deportation of British-born defendants (only Armstrong was born in Canada), but in the end he chose not to use it. By having the public trials of 1920 prosecuted under the Criminal Code, British legal norms could be seen to be upheld and, even more importantly, a public lesson could be taught.

The defendants were not to be tried for the strike itself but for their ideas. To prove seditious conspiracy on their part, their statements, their writings, and their libraries would be trotted out. Indeed, other than Russell, the actual leaders of the strike were neither arrested nor tried; the defendants were in fact pro-strike figures best known for their political ideas. Socialism itself was what would actually be put on trial and — Andrews and the Citizens' Committee members hoped — would be shown to be the source of the strikers' seditious ideas. Radicalism would be criminalized.

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

McGuinness White Whisky Fully aged in oak casks

THE WINNIPEG TRIBUNE

79th Year No. 132. Thursday, June 26, 1969. Final Edition ★★* 10 Cents, Weekend Edition 15 Cents

MOORES WEATHER REPORT FORECAST HIGH LOW SHOWERS 65 55

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Manitobans signal left turn

PREMIER SCHREYER

Tribune Photo by Jim Wanchee.

Victorious Schreyer stands under appropriate sign at NDP election headquarters.

Cool, smiling Schreyer

NDP takes 28 seats

By CHUCK THOMPSON
Tribune Political Reporter

Nobody was more surprised than everyone . . .

Ed Schreyer's rampaging New Democrats battered Premier Walter Weir's Progressive Conservative administration, seizing 28 seats. They will almost certainly form a minority government.

The PCs plummeted from 31 seats to 22 seats, while the Liberals failed from 15 to five seats.

Even fair chief B. W. (Bobby) Bend lost to Resources Minister Harry Enns, considered to be in a weak position because of the Southern Indian Lake controversy.

Mr. Weir — shaken, but not angry — will call a cabinet meeting, perhaps today, possibly Friday, to decide whether the PC government should offer its resignation to Lt.-Gov. Richard S. Bowles. This would allow the NDP (with 28 seats) to form a minority government with the PCs (22), Liberals (five), Independent (1), and Social Credit (1) as the opposition.

Mr. Weir refused to discuss the alternatives to resigning after his party's defeat Wednesday night — but is there he could form some sort of coalition with the Liberals and lone Social Credit MLA John Frome of Rhineland.

The resignation of the Weir administration is not expected immediately, nor is it likely that Mr. Bowles will call upon Mr. Schreyer to form a new government until election results are made official.

Under the Manitoba Elections Act a period of eight days is allowed following receipt of ballots counted by deputy returning officers, for recounts to be made before a county judge.

The election shook up the 57-seat Legislature. At the end of the last session, the standings were: PC 31; Liberal 15; NDP 10; Social Credit one.

Mr. Weir made a short speech at PC headquarters in the Highlander Curling Club as results became known:

The Tribune's complete coverage of the Manitoba election:

Page 2 — detailed results, riding by riding.

Page 4 — photographic coverage; the rural constituencies; nation-wide reaction to the Schreyer victory.

Page 5 — color maps show how the parties fared.

Page 17 — reaction from businessmen in Manitoba.

"I'm not sorry I called the election. The people had to indicate their choice . . . there were three new leaders and three new parties. It was democratically right . . .

"If the people made a mistake (by voting NDP) they will have an opportunity to correct it."

Did this mean there would be another election shortly?

"I didn't say that. I haven't had an opportunity to analyze

Tribune Photo by Hugh Allan.

Gurney Evans, Don Craik and Walter Weir wonder how it happened.

What's next? Roblin had same problem

What happens now?

First, all parties will confirm the seats they won. This could take up to three weeks. Chief Provincial Returning Officer Charland Pratt insists won't go above the official figures for six days.

However, Premier Walter Weir could hand in his government's resignation to Lt.-Gov. Richard S. Bowles at any time. After that, Mr. Bowles could call on the New Democrats to form a minority government.

But nothing is likely to happen immediately.

In fact, provincial politics are in much the same position as in 1958 when Dufferin came to power. The Roblin Tories won 26 seats against a combined opposition of 25 seats (19 of them Liberal).

That year it took Doug Campbell two weeks to resign. More or less the same thing is expected to happen this time.

But, deals can be made.

Already some Progressive Conservative Party members are advising Mr. Weir not to resign. They are counselling for a coalition . . . the three other parties would form a united front against the socialists. This would be a 29-28 split if James Bilton stayed as speaker.

In Manitoba, the coalitionists ruled Manitoba from the mid-1920s until Prof. Robin resigned the Progressive Conservatives into a separate entity in the 1950s.

However, three of the six former Liberal contingent have all but ruled out a PC-Liberal-Social coalition.

The Southern Indian Lake issue is the stumbling block . . .

Larry Desjardins (L—St. Boniface), Gil Molgat (L — Ste. Rose) and Steve Patrick (L—

Victory staked in urban ground

The strike left a legacy of social activism that contributed to the formation of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and its successor, the New Democratic Party, which came to power in Manitoba for the first time in 1969.

The defendants would be tried by a jury of rural people, who were likely unfamiliar or unsympathetic with the aims of urban labour. The jurors were chosen from a pool examined ahead of time by the North West Mounted Police and the McDonald Detective Agency to ascertain their views about the strike, socialism, and trade unions. This guaranteed convictions in most of the cases. Andrews, however, characterized the efforts as ensuring "an impartial and fair jury."

Nevertheless, the Citizens' Committee's courtroom victories were less significant than they appeared.

Each of the defendants put up a spirited defence. Dixon and Pritchard, in particular, used the trials as a platform to defend their ideas. Their long addresses to the jury were published and circulated. Pritchard's speech was rambling, erudite, and passionate. "Work, work! Let us listen to the song, a psalm of praise, to work, as it comes tripping from the lips of a corporation lawyer," he exhorted during his sixteen-hour address. "Did he ever work in a coal mine? Does he know what it is to bend his back before the face of the rock, or push wagons from the drive to the bottom of the shaft?"

Pritchard was convicted, as were six others. Fred Dixon was acquitted of seditious libel. He had taken over the strikers' newspaper after it had been banned, and James S. Woodsworth had done the same. The prosecution dropped charges against Woodsworth, rather than risking another defeat.

In Winnipeg and elsewhere, labour rallied to the defence of the men who had been charged. In the next provincial and federal elections, wearing their arrests as a badge of honour, several of the defendants won election even as they sat in jail. The defence committee established to raise money for the legal expenses of the arrested men declared: "Prison Bars Cannot Confine Ideas."

The repression of the strike and the imprisonment of some of its leaders only served to confirm the anger and frustration that had prompted it. The aftermath led many workers into the One Big Union that, led by Russell, took form in the months after the strike. The strike had also provided an intense political education for Winnipeg workers. Several strike leaders put their experience to use by helping to form the Independent Labour Party and, eventually, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, which sent Woodsworth and Heaps to the House of Commons and a regular stream of candidates to the provincial legislature and city council. Queen would become mayor of Winnipeg in the late 1930s. The strike also helped to give impetus to the Communist Party, which, over the next six decades, had some electoral success as well — particularly at the municipal level in Winnipeg.

After the strike, the electoral map of Winnipeg was clearly marked by divisions between working-class neighbourhoods, where labour and socialist candidates often won, and middle- and upper-class neighbourhoods, which voted solidly Conservative. Labour militancy and determination became, for some, a characteristic of the city.

In 1935, for instance, when men took to the rails in the On-to-Ottawa Trek protesting conditions in Depression-era unemployment camps, Prime Minister R.B. Bennett chose to break up the trek in Regina, rather than allowing it to proceed to Winnipeg, where thousands more were expected to join the protest.

Almost fifty years to the day after Bloody Saturday, Manitobans from the province's most ethnically diverse, working-class constituencies finally elected a New Democratic Party government whose roots were directly planted in the general strike. And that wouldn't be the last time that political and social conflicts in Manitoba elicited references to the great battle, which is now a hundred years in the past.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA ARCHIVES

A new public artwork, Bernie Miller and Noam Gonick's *Bloody Saturday*, is to be unveiled in June near Winnipeg's city hall.

BERNIE MILLER AND NOAM GONICK

TIPPING POINT

This summer, commuters driving down the busiest stretch of Winnipeg's Main Street and people living, working, or heading to events in the city's Exchange District will see a streetcar leaning on an angle and sinking into the surface of the plaza outside Pantages Playhouse Theatre. It's not a transit accident – it's *Bloody Saturday*, a new public sculpture by Bernie Miller and Noam Gonick that will be located across the street from Winnipeg's current city hall.

The plan is for the sculpture to be unveiled June 21, a century to the day after the bloodiest event of the Winnipeg General Strike. On a Saturday six weeks into the 1919 strike, tens of thousands of people gathered on Main Street at the former city hall to support striking workers and to protest the arrest days earlier of labour leaders. When a streetcar driven by strikebreakers approached, demonstrators rocked it off its tracks and set fire to it. The North West Mounted Police, joined by untrained special constables, rode into the crowd with clubs and guns. Bullets were fired. Two people died and dozens were injured as a result of the confrontation on a day now known as Bloody Saturday.

For Gonick, a Winnipeg filmmaker and artist, the strike has long held a place in his imagination. One of his first films is set during the 1919 strike. Five years ago, when he first thought of creating a public artwork to commemorate the strike, nothing like it existed in Winnipeg. Gonick felt this was "an oversight and blind spot of our history." (Another strike-related sculpture, with a greater emphasis on explaining historic events, has since been unveiled a block to the east at a location that became known as Hell's Alley due to the events of Bloody Saturday.)

Miller, a Toronto-born sculptor who moved to Winnipeg in 2003, has completed other public art projects in Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, and Winnipeg. His work has long responded to local history, using a visual vocabulary that engages the utopian ideals of early modernism. The two artists were well matched to collaborate and had completed conceptual work and drawings when Miller died in October 2017. Since then, Gonick has worked with an engineer and fabricators as well as Miller's life partner – artist, author, and psychiatrist Jeanne Randolph – who has represented Miller's voice as the project is transformed from idea to reality.

The replica streetcar that forms the heart of the artwork is being constructed in Transcona, on the east side of Winnipeg, where repairs for the Grand Trunk Pacific and National Transcontinental railways were made a century ago. Inspired by a well-known photograph by L.B. Foote (shown on pages 28 and 29 of this issue), the sculpture will develop an orange-brown patina over time, while its interior glows with light behind frosted glass. For commuters whizzing by, especially at night, it will be a ghostly apparition. For pedestrians, it may seem like an archaeological discovery. And Manitoba Federation of Labour president Kevin Rebeck told CBC News he hopes the sculpture will become a focal point for future labour rallies. – *Melony Ward*

Pauline Clarke was a reluctant entrant in a Depression-era contest to see which Toronto woman could produce the most children.

Mother of Sorrows

HOW THE GREAT TORONTO STORK DERBY DESTROYED ONE WOMAN'S LIFE.

BY JOEL FISHBANE

TORONTO STAR ARCHIVES

On a February morning, in the middle of the Great Depression, a red-haired young woman with hazel eyes entered a Toronto courtroom and confessed to a life of adultery, premarital sex, and abuse. Only twenty-five years old, she was of great interest to both the people in the gallery and the reporters stationed outside, for she was the front-runner in a baby-making competition that had become a sensation in Canada and around the world.

The competition was a horse race whose starting pistol was fired one Sunday in 1926 after a Toronto lawyer's fatal ascent of a flight of stairs. Charles Millar had a heart attack in his top-floor office, leaving behind a memorable will. One request bequeathed shares in a Roman Catholic brewery to teetotaller Protestant ministers. But it was the ninth clause that became the shot heard around Toronto. Millar had left the residue of his considerable estate to the "Toronto woman who, in the ten years following my death, has the most children." By 1936, the prize would be worth half a million dollars — an amount that would approach nine million dollars today. The contest would take on many names, but the most popular was the "Great Toronto Stork Derby." The race had begun.

No sooner did the newspapers report on Millar's will than reporters began to search Toronto for contestants. As the Great Depression settled in, any chance, however far-fetched, to boost a family's income was pursued. "By all the intrinsic evidence," wrote the *New York Times*, "a baby derby belongs under the same flag with cross-country derbies, dance marathons and endurance flagpole sitters." Much like those events, the stork derby was the 1930s version of reality television: Here was cheap entertainment that offered money to those willing to put themselves in the spotlight. Fame was another incentive. Newspapers profiled contenders, vaudeville promoters tried to conscript them, and on Broadway the play *Stork Mad* tried to take the town by storm. (It didn't.)

For the public the contest may have been akin to flagpole sitting, but for that young woman with the red hair and the hazel eyes it had spiralled into something worse. Pauline Clarke found the courtroom to be a coliseum. In it, she faced a regiment of conservatives who were pushing back against the rising tide of women's rights.

Born Pauline Mae Abbott, the young woman had a happy childhood that involved, according to the *Rochester Journal*, "the cleanest face, the nicest clothes, the best doll carriage on [the] street." She was fond of basketball and skilled enough at the piano that she almost pursued a graduate degree. Instead, in December 1927 at age sixteen, she married George Clarke, a nineteen-year-old railway worker. The reason would have been obvious at the wedding; their son James was born three weeks later.

The honeymoon was brief. The Great Depression seized the country even as four more daughters appeared in the Clarke household. Pauline lost both her parents, while George, after being laid off, was hauled before the Domestic Relations Court for not supporting his wife. Pauline also found papers that revealed she had been adopted. The discovery would have been poignant; by then, Pauline had already given up two of her own children for adoption. She sent her remaining daughters to stay with relatives, and by 1934 she and George had separated. She had another son in May of that year, but the birth certificate stated the father was Harold Madill, a salesman. Pauline had been living with another man.

George never filed for divorce, probably because of the stigma, but possibly due to hopes of a reconciliation or, more pragmatically, due to the cost. Pauline herself told the *Toronto Evening Telegram* that she couldn't afford a divorce. It's unlikely that the stork derby factored into George's consideration, since Pauline was not a contender in 1934 — the newspapers wouldn't start reporting about her for two more years. By then, she had given birth to two more sets of twins, with only one set still alive; and, although Pauline was living with Madill during this time, the question of the babies' paternity would be one of the crucial questions in the years to come. It was as the deadline for the stork derby arrived in October 1936 that the public read the first reports of this young woman who had birthed ten children in nine years. Whether Pauline approached the papers or they approached her isn't clear. In an effort to protect herself and her children from scandal, she was called Mrs. X; but that *nom de guerre* didn't last very long.

Pauline's history was not extraordinary for the time. Dozens of families entered the stork derby; the front-runners all had eight children or more. The lack of a social safety net left people dependent on religious institutions and charitable organizations, and society was determined to ensure that what social services did exist weren't abused. The *Toronto Star* reported that, in 1938, the winning mothers in the stork derby paid back money they had received for relief and hospitalization.

All of the families endured poverty, disease, and fatalities; the son of one derby hopeful died after he was bitten by a rat. One of the problems for families was the strict laws regarding contraception. Pauline was sexually ignorant and had no way to forestall pregnancies she could not afford. "Did you ever figure out how much it costs to keep oneself and five young children?" she asked. "I covered pages with figures and with tears," she told the *Rochester Journal* in October 1936.

Activists in England and the United States were fighting laws that prohibited contraception, but, until the 1937 Eastview birth control trial, there hadn't been much of a battle on the Canadian front. It's notable that the Eastview case was held in Ottawa; Pauline's Toronto was a puritanical place. Known as "Toronto the Good," it was a city where Sundays were a languid time of closed shops and shuttered windows. Work on the Sabbath was so unacceptable that the elevators in Charles Millar's building didn't run, no doubt contributing to the lawyer's death. He had become exhausted after being forced to take the stairs. The Russian-American anarchist Emma Goldman, herself pro-birth control, remarked that in Toronto "the public and university libraries [were] totally lacking in modern works on the social, educational and psychological problems."

Girls were born into a world where their lives were preordained. "With few exceptions," writes historian Victoria Strong-Boag, "female Canadians were engaged from birth in a series of relationships that finally subordinated them and their interests to male prerogatives." The stork derby took place at a time when working women were accused of stealing jobs from men and married women were banned from city employment. A woman without children might be a traitor to her sex, but a woman with too many children might find herself unable to care for them.

These conditions not only affected Pauline but also influenced the stork derby itself. Millar had expressed his antipathy toward Ontario's contraception laws. J. Willis West, writing in The *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, suggests Millar's intent was to "so outrage the moral sense of the good people of Toronto ... that reforms would quickly follow." If this interpretation is true, then Millar would have been pleased by the reaction to his will. In 1932, Ontario's Attorney General tried to have Millar's estate put under provincial control. When that failed, Millar's cousins contested the will on the grounds that it was immoral. Millar had specified that his estate should consider all children registered under the *Vital Statistics Act*. The act, however, permitted the registration of so-called illegitimate children; and, since the will did not state that the mothers had to be married, Millar's cousins argued that the contest intended to reward people of dubious character.

Children born outside of marriage had long represented dishonour, and for centuries the doctrine of *filius nullius* meant they were not recognized by the law. The doctrine predated Shakespeare; in *King Lear*, the illegitimate Edmund decries the fact that he stands "in the plague of custom" that deprives him of his father's property. Likewise in Canada, children deemed illegitimate had no standing in court to demand the rights afforded to

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: MILWAUKEE JOURNAL ARCHIVE, AMERICAN PRESS; TORONTO STAR ARCHIVES; TORONTO STAR ARCHIVES

The Man Who Keeps His Mouth Shut During an Argument Isn't Apt to Get His Foot in It

Flapper Fanny Says—
Pa thinks the ideal big family is two children big enough to support themselves.

THE MILWAUKEE
JOURNAL
GREEN SHEET

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Friday, November 29, 1935

'Dark Horse' in 'Stork Derby' Now Believes in Birth Control

Off the Record — *By Ed Reed*

"I think this one with the ivory head fits your personality bett

Here's Hair Raising Tale That Halted Bridge Game With Gales of Laughter

"IF A MAN is bald and wants to wear a toupee, that's his business. I suppose when he saw himself in the mirror on going to bed he dis-

Radium
$280,000 a Teaspoonful

Why is radium so expensive? Fifteen grains of radium make a gram; one gram makes one-fourth of a teaspoonful; a single teaspoonful

Mother of 16 Children Starts Among Leaders in $500,000 Free-for-All

Toronto, Ont.—Mrs. Arthur Hollis Timleck, 36-year-old Irish-Canadian late Charles Millar in the famous "stork derby."
Mrs. Timleck didn't care for pub-

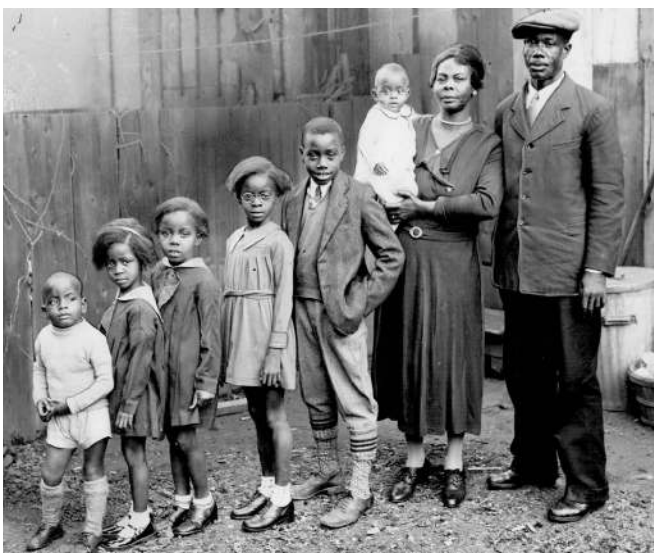
Boy Lion Tamer Afraid to Leap

Brownsville, Tex. (AP) Manuel King, widely known 12-year-old lion tamer of Brownsville, goes into a cage and bullies several grown lions with ease but balks at the "dizzy" heights of five-foot cliffs.

The Thanksgiving Road From Turkey to Hamburg By Holiday Menu Route

It is a long way from Turkey to Hamburg by air mail route. It is a able to do so. Thankfu pleasant memories to t

Above: The stork derby made news all over North America. Right: Charles Vance Millar, instigator of the stork derby. Far right: The Carter family, entrants in the derby. Below: The Nagle family, with twelve children under the age of fifteen.



children born into marriage. Yet by 1937 the policy had become so outdated that the *Yale Law Journal* proclaimed, "legislation alleviating the lot of the bastard child at common law has become almost universal." The journal noted a singular exception: a judgment by one William Middleton, the judge who ruled on the validity of Charles Millar's will. Middleton could have decided that rewarding unwed mothers was not necessarily against public morals, just as the judge in the Eastview trial, who ruled around the same time, declared that contraception was in the interest of the public good. But Middleton wasn't interested in setting new precedent. He agreed with the thesis that children born to unwed parents were an abomination and saved the will by proclaiming that Millar, as a lawyer, must have intended to use the word "children" in the restricted sense.

Pauline Clarke should have been out of the race. Yet there she was on that cold morning in February of 1938, testifying to the lurid facts of her private life. Her argument was simple: Although she had been living with another man, there was no proof her children were not her husband's. Isidore Hellmuth, one of the lawyers who tried to challenge the will, had declared that "there is nothing to prevent an unmarried woman from entering the race, provided she could bear the shame." Technically, Pauline was not unmarried; she had decided to bear an entirely different stigma.

Pauline's lawyers were C.R. McKeown and future Supreme Court Justice John Cartwright. Their strategy relied on legal wordplay. Legal precedent held that all children were legal unless it could be proved that the spouses had been apart. Since this could not be proved, they argued, Pauline's children were presumed legitimate.

Pauline was between a hard place and a harder one: Either she was the mother of five illegitimates or she was a promiscuous woman who had lived with one man but slept with two. She chose the latter course. "I expected a lot of unkind things would be said about me," she said, "but I love my children too much to forfeit this chance of securing their financial independence." She was also securing their legal standing. If the court found in her favour, she could save her children from disgrace.

In 1924, a case in the British courts known as Russell v. Russell resulted in a ruling that spouses couldn't delegitimize a child born after wedlock merely through their own testimony. The ruling prevented spiteful spouses from declaring children illegitimate in order to deny them inheritances. Since Canadian law was based on British precedents, the result was that George Clarke could not be summoned to give "evidence of non-access." To go around this provision, Pauline's lawyers subpoenaed Harold Madill. By then, Pauline and Madill were no longer together. The salesman had turned out to be a shady figure who admitted to giving her a black eye and breaking down her door after he thought she was with another man. Pauline claimed she only put his name on the birth certificates under duress, while Madill told a dubious story about a "bargain" to split the stork derby prize. When called upon to produce written proof, he said it was lost. The revelation that Pauline, in addition to her other traumas, was also a victim of domestic abuse brought little sympathy. There was disdain for her lifestyle, but it was also an era when spousal violence was considered a private, rather than a legal, concern.

Pauline was an orphan, an abused woman, and a mother of ten children, two of whom were dead. Now, after a decade of financial and emotional humiliation, she was also the centre of a legal circus, swearing to a polyamorous life in a city known as Toronto the Good. Her desperation could only have been acute. But her efforts were in vain. Middleton ruled that the children were illegitimate.

JAMES GILLESPIE

BIRTH CONTROL ON TRIAL

At the time Charles Millar wrote his will, it was illegal to disseminate information about contraception. A movement to educate the public about birth control, which had been started in the United States in the 1910s by advocates like Margaret Sanger, soon spread to Canada. In the 1930s, A.R. Kaufman, a manufacturer in Kitchener, Ontario, opened the Parents' Information Bureau after he noticed a correlation between large families and productivity: Simply put, men with large families missed more work.

Since women were less likely to confide in male doctors, Kaufman hired women to visit families and to offer birth control information and supplies. In 1936, one of them, Dorothea Palmer, was arrested in Eastview (now the Ottawa neighbourhood of Vanier). Palmer's trial revolved around the question of whether her actions were in the public interest. In addition to Kaufman's own testimony, defence witnesses testified to the oppressive size of their families, the general ignorance of physicians regarding contraception, and the fact that middle-class and wealthy women could already obtain birth control materials from druggists.

While contraceptive devices such as these 1930s-era condoms were not themselves illegal, distributing them or providing information about them was.

The trial lasted six months and is still among the longest in Canadian history. On March 17, 1937, Judge Lester Clayton acquitted Palmer, recognizing that the law disadvantaged the poor and that overpopulation was a social burden. A later appeal by the Crown was dismissed. – *Joel Fishbane*

A crowd peers through the fence around Osgoode Hall in Toronto on November 3, 1936. The onlookers were trying to catch a glimpse of contestants arriving to present their case for winning the stork derby prize.

ALAMY

It would have ended there if not for the lawyers. Cartwright was awarded only partial costs, and this may have been what urged him to persuade Pauline to appeal. They weren't alone. Throughout Pauline's trial, Middleton had also been settling the question as to whether a stillborn child met the legal definition of a child under the terms of Millar's will. In ruling that "a stillborn child is a thing," he rendered another contender, Lillian Kenney (who had birthed an astounding eleven children) ineligible for the stork derby prize. Kenney's lawyer joined with Cartwright, and together they took a gamble and won. In March 1937, Pauline accepted a settlement of $12,500, about $212,000 today. By contrast, Millar's estate was divided among four other families, each of whom received about $100,000 (or $1.6 million today).

The media, which continued to relate the fate of the other stork derby participants, rarely mentioned Pauline Clarke again. Writing in 1941, historian and author Edwin Guillet cited gossip suggesting that she had run off to Detroit. This story was repeated, and forty years later author Mark Orkin, who wrote a history of the event in 1981, breezily reported that Pauline left town with "her looks, her self-possession, and twelve and a half thousand dollars."

Her divorce records suggest a sadder tale. If Pauline had kept the stork derby money for herself, it seems likely that George Clarke would have mentioned it in his statement of claim. But the claim, filed in 1941, cited only her adultery. Neither Madill nor Pauline appeared in court during the divorce proceeding. Madill was serving in the Second World War — records aren't clear on his exact role — while Pauline's lawyer told the court that she was in hiding "due to the widespread newspaper publicity and the fact that she had disclosed during the Millar will proceedings that six of her children were illegitimate." The lawyer would say only that Pauline was in British Columbia and that he had instructions not to object to a divorce.

The dismissal of Pauline's claim represented a successful effort to maintain conservative morality during a time when ideas about reproductive rights were beginning to change. Despite the march of progress seen in the Eastview case and beyond, courtrooms and newspapers were run by men who were determined to champion the status quo. Were it not for their moral righteousness, Pauline might have had a very different fate. She lived in an era of change, but her great misfortune was to be trapped behind the curve.

Once the stork derby ended, the newspapers moved on to other events, leaving the story of Pauline Clarke without a satisfying end. There are no letters or diaries. The court transcripts are gone, leaving only newspaper articles as the record of her testimony. In a way, Pauline is absent from her own story. Like so many women of the past, her life was determined by a parade of men — from the ones who loved her to the one who left a will that changed her life. We have only a handful of facts with which to piece together who she was.

In his ruling, Middleton suggested that Pauline was a plotter who turned her back on her children. It was an unfair assessment of a woman who had given up two children for adoption and who always arranged for the care of the others. She sacrificed herself in that courtroom in the hope of ensuring that her family did not pay a social price for her behaviour. It was a goal she was still trying to achieve in 1941, when her lawyer told the courts that she hoped the divorce "would put her in a position to legitimize the birth of her children." Exactly how she might have accomplished this is unclear. After enduring the unrelenting spotlight of the stork derby, Pauline slipped out of public view. But her lawyer's remark suggests that, whatever her fate, Pauline Clarke's children always remained closest to her heart.

An artist's conception of the sinking of the *Titanic* in April 1912.

DODGING DISASTER

THE EVENTFUL LIFE OF HILDA SLAYTER LACON

BY MICHAEL DUPUIS

HILDA SLAYTER HAD WASHED HER HAIR AND WAS DRYING IT AS SHE SAT IN HER berth, when she heard a dull thump. Had the *Titanic* struck another vessel? As the thirty-year-old from Halifax left her stateroom on the starboard side of E deck she encountered a steward. "We have hit an iceberg," he declared as he hurried down the hallway. After going up to the main deck, where she saw crew members preparing lifeboats, Hilda returned to her room and put on extra clothing. She persuaded her cabin-mate, Florence Kelly, that they should make their way up to the top deck, where the lifeboats were located.

Once there, Hilda was surrounded by a crowd of men who opened a path for her to lifeboat 13. Just as the fully loaded boat was about to be lowered, Hilda was thrust into the stern and handed ten-month-old Alden Caldwell by the child's mother, who then found a spot in another part of the lifeboat. "You are lucky," said the man next to Hilda, as she noted later in her journal. "They called three times, 'Are there any more women?'"

Their safety was not yet assured. The lines connecting lifeboat 13 to the ship began sticking as they unwound. To make matters worse, water being discharged from the *Titanic* was streaming into the path of the lifeboat's descent. Hilda could feel the lifeboat dipping and heaving as it dropped over the ship's side. Meanwhile, lifeboat 15 began descending from above.

Hilda later recalled that she and the others in her lifeboat yelled to stop the second lifeboat from being lowered — it came so close that she actually touched its bottom with her fingertips. Fortunately, at the last moment a man crawled along the outside of lifeboat 13 with a knife in his mouth and slashed the ropes that held it. Immediately it was driven to one side by the discharge from the ship's pump, but it came down safely in the water, with lifeboat 15 also in one piece beside it. Minutes later Hilda, the baby and sixty-three other occupants of lifeboat 13 floated away from the *Titanic*, which was by then listing badly.

As her lifeboat drifted, Hilda could see the doomed liner, its lights still blazing but the bow already dropping below the water. Hearing people in the water shouting, she asked, "Are they calling for the boats to get together?"

"Calling, Miss?" someone on board lifeboat 13 replied. "That ain't calling. That's drowning."

The baby Hilda was holding slept soundly for an hour but then woke and began to cry. Turning to a fellow passenger, English science teacher Howard Beesley, she asked, "Will you feel down and see if the baby's feet are out of the blanket? I don't know much about babies but I think their feet must be kept warm." Beesley found the exposed toes and wrapped them up. Little Alden stopped crying. Having recognized Hilda's

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A-VERSE TO DANGER

Writer Alan Hustak discovered this poem in Hilda Slayter's diary in the Nova Scotia Archives and presented it on the April 2012 *Titanic* memorial cruise on the liner *Balmoral* out of Southampton, England. What it lacks in artistry (apparently "conceivement" is a word), it makes up for in personal experience.

Titanic: April 1912

Launched – and just completed, "Titanic."
Pride of man's achievement?
Fall? Had no conceivement.
Starts maiden voyage across Atlantic

Crash! From ice barriers and iceberg
Massive gleaming in the sun.
First class journey begun.
Night fall pales, its bulk with sea mists merge

Fates decree. Challenge Leviathans!
Fast spray splashing from the bow.
Slow – scarce a ripple now.
What the issue? Nature or humans?

Ponderous – inexorable – loomed.
Cut through "Titanic's" side,
left sinking in her pride.
Too late, lookout's warning. She is doomed.

voice as belonging to a woman he had met at the purser's table earlier in the voyage, Beesley said, "Surely you are Miss Hilda Slayter?"

"Yes," Hilda replied, "and you must be Mr. Beesley; how curious we should find ourselves in the same boat."

Born in Halifax on April 5, 1882, Hilda Mary Slayter was the tenth of eleven children of Dr. William Bruce Slayter and musician Clarina Underhill Clark. The Slayters were a prominent upper-middle-class family; two of Hilda's brothers became doctors, two lawyers, one an architect, and another a Royal Navy admiral, while her two sisters married army officers.

At twenty-seven she moved to Europe to become a professional singer. However, she did not have a strong enough voice for an operatic career, and with the encouragement of her brothers, who had been supporting her musical aspirations, Slayter began the search for a husband. She soon met Toronto-born Henry Reginald Dunbar Lacon, the third son of a British baron and Member of Parliament.

The couple made plans to marry in British Columbia and to live on Lacon's large property on Denman Island, in the Georgia Strait off the east coast of Vancouver Island. It was a remote and sparsely populated place at the time. Henry had visited it and enjoyed his experience there. As the third-born son, he was unlikely to inherit land in England, so presumably he opted for relatively cheap property in Canada, however remote. It is also possible that Lacon was a remittance man: an emigrant assigned regular payments from home on the expectation that he stay away. The match between Lacon and Slayter was clearly a mutually beneficial arrangement, rather than a deeply romantic relationship, and once married Slayter had little choice but to follow her new husband to the isolated homestead.

She acquired a seven-thousand-dollar wedding trousseau that included a satin wedding dress embroidered with pearls, a matching silver opal and mesh scarf, satin slippers, silk stockings, and hair bandeau, as well as a blue satin silver net dress, silver-and-blue scarf, and Italian-embroidered handmade lace blouses. With her trousseau all set, Slayter booked passage on a new White Star Line ship that was soon to embark on its maiden voyage — RMS *Titanic*.

Her finery all went down with the ship, but Slayter escaped watery doom. After three hours on a lifeboat, she was picked up by the Cunard rescue ship *Carpathia* and arrived in New York City on the evening of April 18, 1912. After a brief stay in the city and several newspaper interviews about her near-death experience in the mid-Atlantic, she travelled to Canada's

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

west coast and on June 1 married Henry Lacon in Vancouver's Christ Church Cathedral.

One can only imagine the shock Hilda must have felt as she set foot for the first time on Denman Island. Nearly two hundred kilometres from Victoria and three hundred from Vancouver, the island was just nineteen kilometres long by six kilometres wide, with a population of fewer than 150 European settlers; there were no Indigenous people on the island by the time she arrived. The nearest neighbour to the heavily wooded Lacon homestead on Repulse Point was twelve kilometres away, and the ferry dock was another four kilometres beyond that. Travel was by horse and buggy on a rough dirt road.

Hilda Slayter Lacon in the 1930s.

For the next four years Hilda endured life away from the comforts to which she had become accustomed. The only bright spots were the birth of her son Reginald William on March 10, 1913, the establishment of St. Saviour's Anglican Church, and the occasional journey off Denman Island to spend time in Victoria or Vancouver. With the outbreak of the First World War, the island's population dwindled further, as many of its men joined the war effort. In 1916 Henry decided to apply for military service, and, happily for Hilda, his decision resulted in the family transferring to her hometown of Halifax, where, coincidentally, 150 of the *Titanic*'s 1,503 victims are buried.

Soon after the family moved to Halifax, Henry was appointed to the 10th Siege Battery headquarters in the south barracks near the intersection of Sackville and Brunswick streets. The Lacons first lived on Brenton Place but soon moved to Barrington Street near the ocean terminals. For Hilda, life in the city's affluent south end was comfortable, and, for the niece by marriage of shipping magnate Samuel Cunard, it was socially enjoyable and rewarding. She strolled with four-year-old Reginald to Point Pleasant Park, took the tram to the splendid public gardens on Spring Garden Road, and visited her mother on nearby Morris Street.

Hilda's idyllic life suddenly changed on the morning of December 6, 1917. At 8:45 a.m. the Norwegian ship *Imo*, carrying supplies destined for Belgian relief, collided with the French munitions ship *Mont-Blanc* in the narrows of Halifax harbour. The collision caused a fire on the *Mont-Blanc*, whose crew abandoned ship. The vessel drifted to Pier 6 on the Halifax side, and at 9:04:35 a.m. the *Mont-Blanc*'s deadly cargo of TNT, picric acid, gun cotton, and benzol self-destructed in a blast that killed two thousand people and injured six thousand more. The explosion destroyed sixteen hundred houses and damaged another twelve thousand.

While the explosion virtually levelled the city's Richmond district in the industrial north end, Halifax's residential south end was not immune to damage. When the blast occurred, Hilda was home with Reginald; Henry had already left for the south barracks. The explosion's concussion wave shattered the house's windows, tore doors off their hinges, tossed furniture, loosed plaster from the walls, and, most seriously, caused the roof to collapse. Covered in soot and ceiling plaster, and shaken but miraculously uninjured by the shards of flying glass from her home's windows, Hilda found herself in the middle of the living room. After a frantic search she found Reginald, who was unhurt. Mother and son made their way through the horrific aftermath to the home of relatives, the Francklyns, on South Park Street.

As Hilda and Reginald settled into the Francklyns' home that night, a blinding snowstorm hit the city, hindering rescue efforts and further demoralizing the citizens of Halifax. The next day Hilda awoke to a gale from the south, which

Damage caused by the Halifax explosion in the north end of Halifax, December 6, 1917.

ALAN HUSTAK: TITANIC: THE CANADIAN STORY

Above: The Lacon house on Denman Island, B.C., in 1916 a few years after it was built. The man in front is likely Hilda's husband Henry Lacon.

Left: St. Saviour's Anglican Church on Denman Island, circa 1950. The church was built in 1914. The Lacons were instrumental in its construction, and Hilda was an active volunteer, playing the organ and sitting on various committees.

was soon followed by a blinding rainstorm that quickly transformed the heavy snow into water and slush, blocking the sewers, submerging the sidewalks, and making the already pitiful conditions in the city worse.

Once Henry returned and the family was reunited, repairs to the house began. Broken glass and fallen plaster were swept up, and windows were covered with mats, rugs, blankets, and battens — anything to keep out the winter weather. Through it all Hilda remained resolute. In early April, despite the presence of German submarines in the Atlantic, the seasoned and ever-adventurous traveller embarked with Reginald on a trip to England on Canadian Pacific Ocean Lines' SS *Missanabie*. Five months later, en route from Liverpool to New York City, the same liner — without Hilda aboard — was torpedoed and sunk off the coast of Ireland; all forty-five passengers and crew were lost.

By late 1921 Hilda had returned to Denman Island. When not travelling abroad, she continued her involvement with St. Saviour's on various committees and played the organ at church services. She was also active in the Denman Island Women's Institute, often hosting the chapter's monthly meeting.

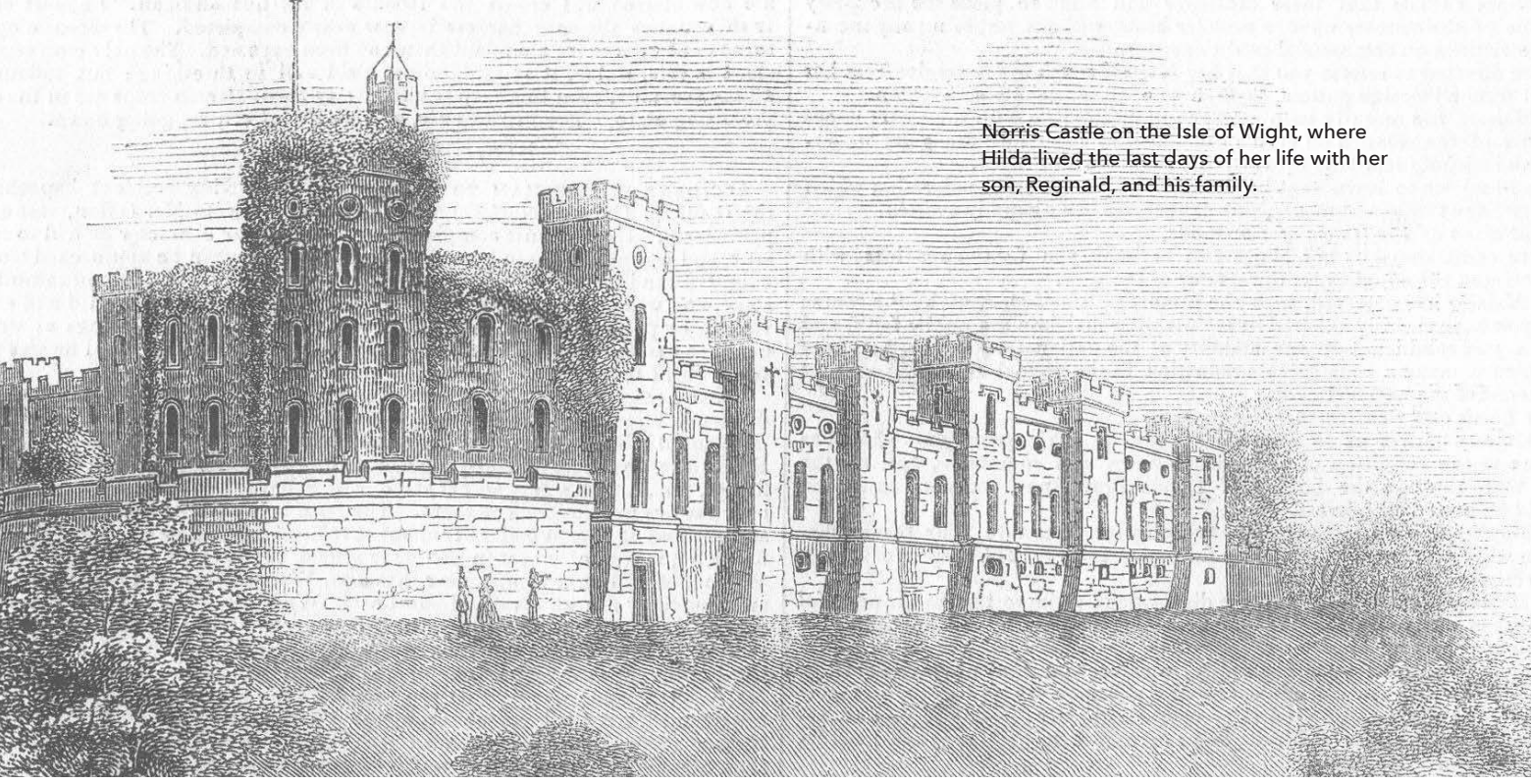
Young Reginald was sent to Shawnigan Lake boarding school on Vancouver Island. After graduating in 1926, he continued his education in England, where he ultimately settled. He joined the Royal Navy in 1934 and, during the Second World War, was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.

To avoid boredom, Hilda gave garden parties, played the piano, and tended her roses. Although still without electricity or a telephone, the Lacons had acquired an automobile and developed an active social life. Parts of the family's large acreage had been cleared, a well supplied sufficient water, and not far from the house's oceanfront location were a tennis court, apple orchards, and a vegetable garden. As Hilda approached the age of sixty-one, life seemed better, albeit routine.

However, danger lurked even in the island's bucolic setting. Saturday, January 30, 1943, was a cold and snowy day on Denman Island. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a fire erupted in the Lacon house. The smoke and flames were seen across Baynes Sound — the channel between Denman Island and Vancouver Island. The Lacons did not have a telephone, so word of the fire first needed to be sent to Courtenay on Vancouver Island and then relayed to the Denman operator, who contacted all island residents simultaneously with an emergency ring. The circuitous method of relaying news, and the snow-filled road to Repulse Point, meant that people trying to come to the Lacons' aid were delayed. By the time neighbours arrived, fire had already destroyed the house as well as the woodshed and the garage.

The cause of the fire was not clear, but once again Hilda's luck held, and she was miraculously unhurt. She and Henry were able to save a few pieces of furniture as well as their car; however, many of their personal possessions — including family photographs and heirlooms as well as Hilda's piano — were lost in the fire, and irreplaceable antiques brought from England were destroyed. Luckily, the flames did not spread to

DENMAN ISLAND MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES, LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA



Norris Castle on the Isle of Wight, where Hilda lived the last days of her life with her son, Reginald, and his family.

Hilda's beloved rose garden, the tennis court, or the orchards; and, fortunately, insurance covered much of the damage.

Throughout her life Hilda was an intrepid traveller, partly because she enjoyed seeking out new places but also because she welcomed opportunities to escape both Denman Island and her husband. Passenger lists from Canadian, American, and British ocean liners reveal that she crossed the Atlantic at least twenty times and often remained in Europe for extended periods. While her ill-fated passage on the *Titanic* was Hilda's most famous voyage, the one she remembered most for happy reasons took place when she was seventy-seven years old. On January 21, 1959, she boarded the Italian liner *Augustus* in Halifax, reached Boston two days later, and continued on to New York City. From there the *Augustus* crossed the Atlantic Ocean to Naples, Italy, where Hilda disembarked and, unaccompanied, began her lengthy exploration of Italy and Greece.

The details of her tour of Italy and Greece in January and February of that year were published upon her return in a lengthy local newspaper story. Headlined "Mrs. Lacon's Dream Comes True In Visit To Italy And Greece," her travelogue was filled with detailed observations about historic sites such as Pompeii and Herculaneum, in Italy, and Athens, Corinth, Delphi, and Crete, in Greece. Of Delphi she reported, "The greatest religious and spiritual centre of the known world for about a thousand years…. On the southern slopes of Parnassos, a narrow mountainous vale spans out into an amphitheatre, while behind it towers two enormous rocks separated by an abrupt and narrow ravine. The two pinnacles are the famous Phaedriades which tower above Delphi…. Looking westward from Delphi, there stretches the fertile plain of Amphissa with its thousand-year-old olive grove gleaming like a silvery-green sea, while the real waters of the Corinthian Gulf vanish beyond it like a mirror."

Once again, though, on Hilda's trip to Crete, danger was an occasional, unexpected companion, as the article noted in somewhat understated fashion. "In February, on the day scheduled for Mrs. Lacon to fly to Crete, it was snowing and blowing a gale, a most unusual type of storm for Greece whose climate usually resembles that of the French Riviera. The small plane used for the trip had had to brave the storm as it was not equipped to fly above it. Needless to say it was a very rough trip."

On July 14, 1963, Hilda attended the fiftieth-anniversary commemoration of the founding of St. Saviour's Church. Soon afterward, she left Denman Island for the last time and headed to Norris Castle on the Isle of Wight. Now eighty-one, Hilda wanted to spend her remaining years with Reginald, his wife, Joan, and their children. For almost two years Hilda enjoyed living in their castle, which was built in a blend of Norman and Georgian styles and included fifteen bedrooms, a grand hall, a circular drawing room, and extensive cellars. The long stretch of oceanfront property must have reminded Hilda of her old home on Denman Island.

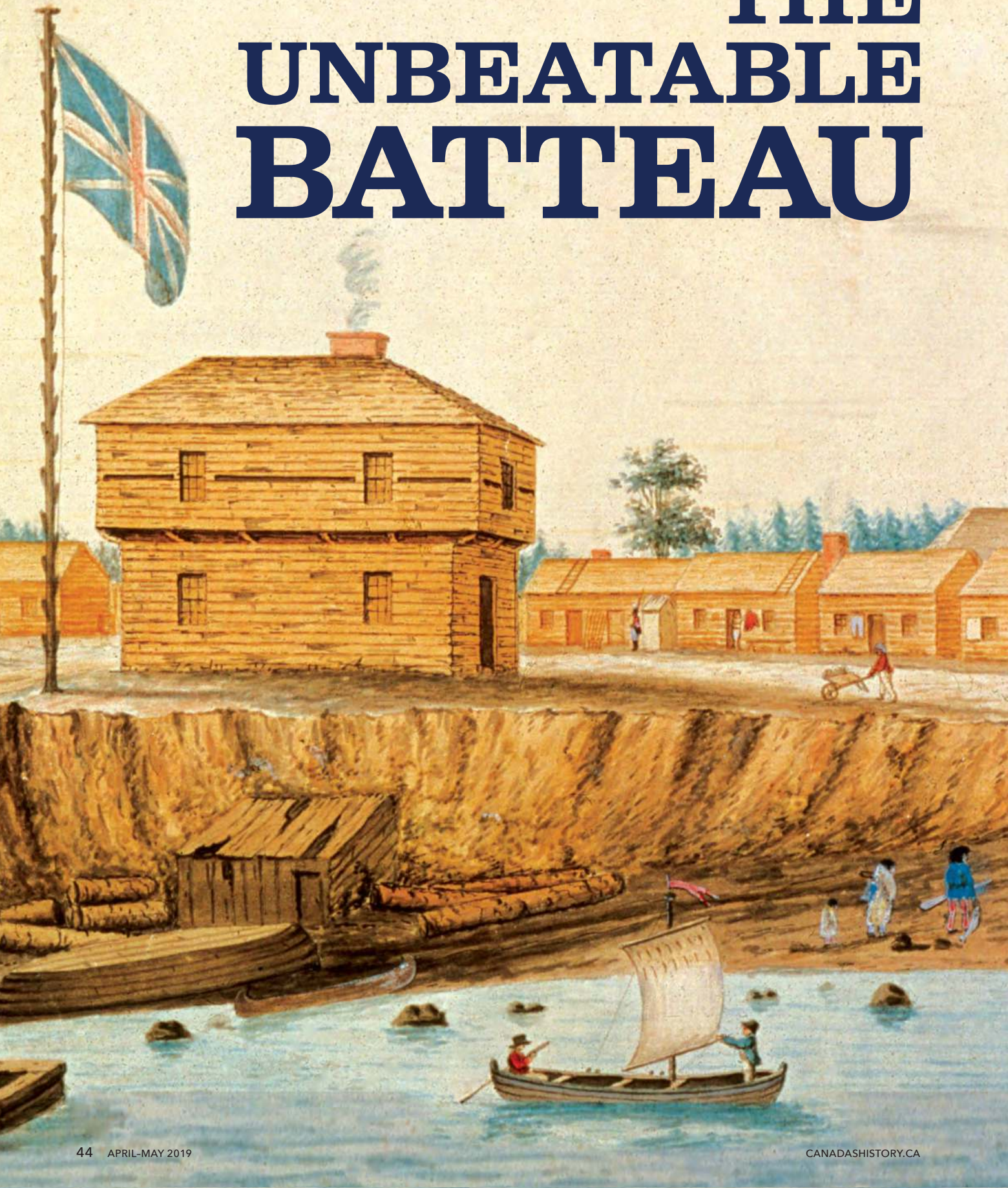
Hilda died of pancreatic cancer on April 12, 1965, a week after turning eighty-three and three days before the fifty-third anniversary of the *Titanic*'s sinking. After cremation, her ashes were flown from London to New York City on Trans-Canada Airlines. Then they were taken to Halifax, where they were interred in the Slayter family plot in Camp Hill Cemetery.

Hilda Slayter Lacon's unique life encompassed contradictions aplenty. She endured failed career ambitions and a marriage that brought personal upheaval, hardship, and isolation; but she also enjoyed many years of privilege, freedom, and travel abroad. Narrow escapes from disasters such as the sinking of the *Titanic*, the Halifax explosion, and the terrible house fire on Denman Island punctuated her existence and demonstrated her courage and resourcefulness. Hilda Slayter Lacon indeed lived a remarkable, full, and storied life.

ALAMY

A batteau with its sail raised floats on Lake Ontario in front of York Barracks in Upper Canada, 1804.

THE UNBEATABLE BATTEAU



BEFORE THE ADVENT OF MODERN CANALS AND SHIPS, THIS UNIQUE BOAT WAS IDEALLY SUITED FOR TRAVEL ON THE TURBULENT ST. LAWRENCE RIVER.

BY JOE CALNAN

"**If a traveller going down the river** has his choice," advised the Glaswegian travel writer John Duncan, "let him by all means prefer the batteau." Duncan secured a passage in the distinctive craft for a trip down the St. Lawrence River from Lake Ontario to Montreal in the autumn of 1819, during his tour of the United States and Canada. His previous experience travelling the same route on one of the Durham boats that New York traders had recently brought to the region convinced him of the superiority of the batteau for navigating the wild rapids of the St. Lawrence.

Duncan was far from alone in his praise of batteau travel — for the century and a half before canals allowed steamboats to bypass the many rapids of the St. Lawrence, the batteau was the preferred vehicle for travel between Montreal and Lake Ontario. Along this route, a subculture of hardy French-Canadian voyageurs developed. They were men whose lives were spent guiding these craft, and their passengers and cargo, up and down the raging rapids of the St. Lawrence. While the boats and the way of life of the batteaumen have vanished virtually without a trace, several of the period's travellers left vivid descriptions of their experiences on the river.

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Bateau is, of course, simply the French word for boat. So how did it — via a slight spelling variation — come to refer to a specific type of watercraft? Searching for the answer requires a trip back to seventeenth-century New France. When Samuel de Champlain, the founder of the colony, reached what are now called the Lachine Rapids, at Montreal, he realized that his heavy boats were unsuitable for travel on the fast rivers of Canada. With round bottoms and straight keels, the boats typically carried on European ships were ideal for deep open water but too sluggish to manoeuvre in rapids and too heavy to be carried around them. In the early 1600s, Champlain adopted the birchbark canoe used by First Nations peoples for inland travel and exploration. Generations of Canadiens followed Champlain's lead and learned to travel in canoes, though it was often remarked that new arrivals from Europe were daunted by the skills needed to navigate safely using these fragile and unstable craft.

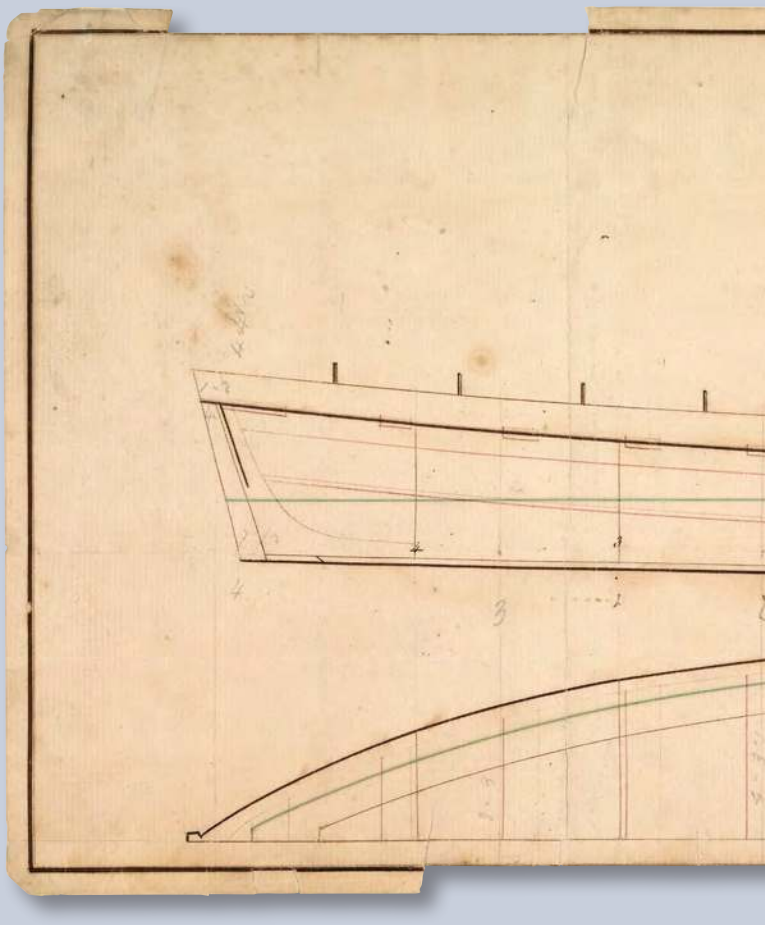
When a regiment of 1,200 French soldiers was dispatched to New France in 1665, the leaders of the colony sought more durable and less costly alternatives to birchbark canoes for moving the troops up the Richelieu and St. Lawrence rivers. The solution turned out to be a boat the same size and shape as the largest bark canoes in use at the time, but which was nailed together out of inexpensive pine boards using the construction technique of the *batteaux plats* (literally, flat boats) that were common on the shallow estuaries of western France. Like canoes, these new boats had the sleek shape needed to manoeuvre through shallow, rocky channels. Like European boats, they could be rowed with conventional oars, fitted with sails, and run up on shore when beaching.

The new boats were called *batteaux plats* for the first few decades, to differentiate them from the other types of boats in the colony. When, year after year, hundreds more were built, the adjective was no longer needed, and in New France they became simply *batteaux*. Today, the archaic spelling is generally used to distinguish the colonial craft from other uses of the modern French word *bateau*.

When the vessel spread to the English colonies to the south, it was quickly put to use for trading on the shallow, rocky Mohawk River route leading west into Iroquois country from Albany, New York. Ironically, the boat that was developed to make the waterways accessible to French soldiers became the key to the demise of New France when

BATTEAU, BATEAU, BATOE

While the watercraft mentioned in this article is long gone from Canadian rivers, it has left behind a raft (poor pun fully intended) of variant spellings. As author Joe Calnan notes, *bateau* is the generic French word for a boat, and yet the *Oxford Canadian Dictionary* lists "bateau" as a perfectly legitimate English word for a flat-bottomed boat that is pointed at both ends and is usually propelled using poles and oars. In historical circles, however, "batteau" is the most common spelling in English for this type of craft, with the plural being the *très* French "batteaux" – a classic Canadian compromise. And, speaking of Canadianness, let's just politely ignore the creative phonetic spellings ("battoe" anyone?) and leave these unique historical boats to the boatmen. Sorry, batteaumen. – *Nancy Payne*



A naval architect's drawing of a batteau built at Kingston Yard, Upper Canada. This is a larger craft, measuring roughly fourteen metres long, three metres wide, and one metre deep.

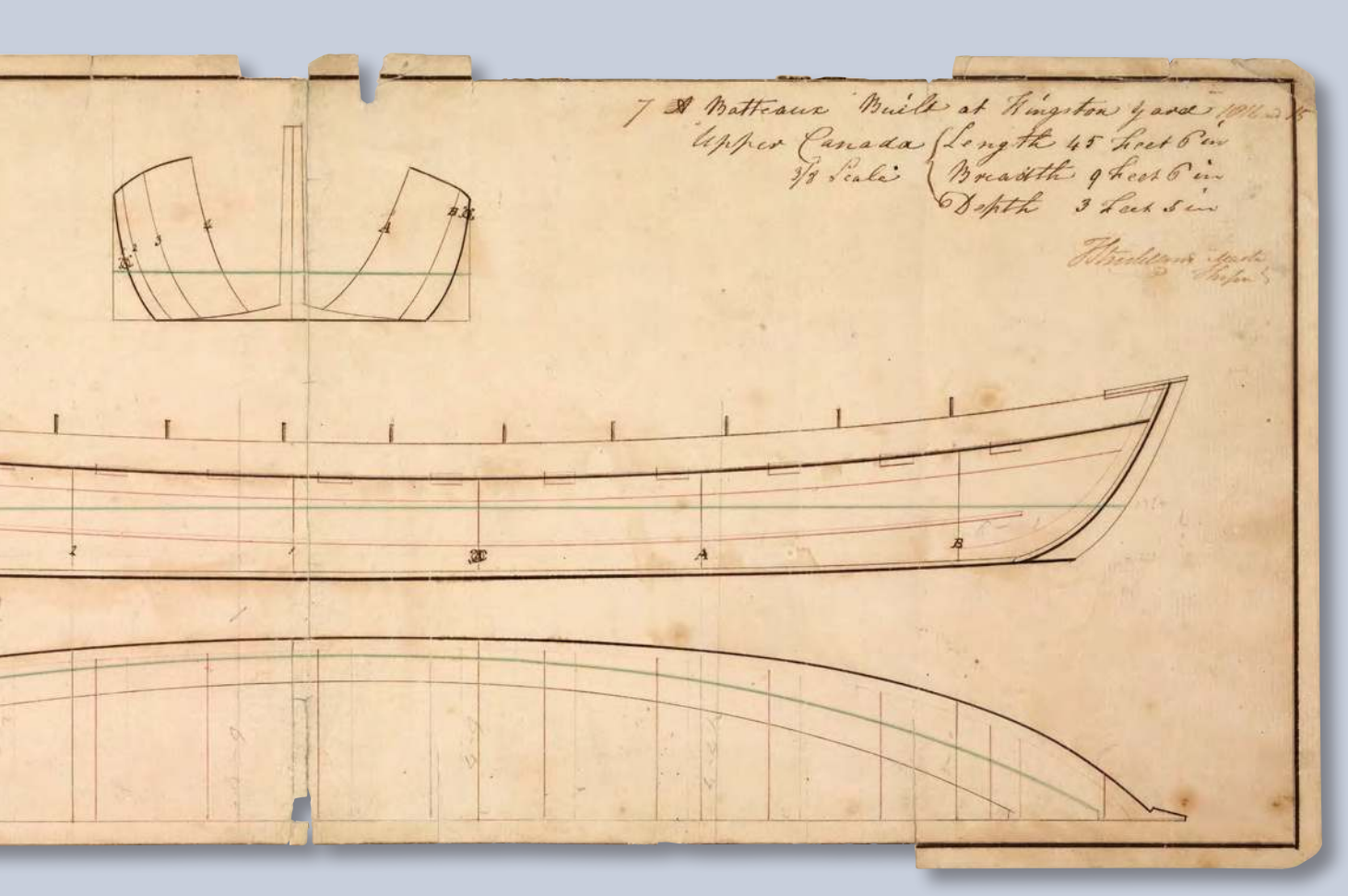
thousands of British troops in vast fleets of batteaux streamed north in the late 1750s during the Seven Years War.

Duncan, whose *Travels through part of the United States and Canada* was published in 1823, tells his readers that the batteaux plying the route between Kingston, in what was then Upper Canada, and Montreal were "navigated by Canadian voyageurs, veterans who have been trained from their youth to the use of the paddle and the setting pole, and who know every channel, rock, and breaker, in the rapids, from the Long Sault to Montreal." From all reports, these men were an exceptionally tough breed, seemingly immune to fatigue, cold, discomfort, and fear.

John Howison, a medical doctor from Edinburgh, Scotland, journeyed up the river in 1820 and wrote about it in his book *Sketches of Upper Canada*. He described the scene he found on the riverfront in what is now Brockville, Ontario, where steamboats from Lake Ontario would commonly transfer passengers to batteaux for the voyage through the rapids to Montreal. "I accordingly secured a passage in a bateau, and in the evening, after it got dark, I strolled to the side of the river, that I might ascertain whether or not my baggage was safely put on board; and there I found the crew carousing, after the fatigues of the day. They had kindled a fire upon the beach, and were making ready supper. Some reclined around the fire, talking barbarous French, and uttering the most horrid oaths; others sat in the boats and sung Troubadour songs; and a third party was engaged in distributing the provisions. They resembled a band of freebooters. Most of them were very athletic and had the sharp physiognomy and sparkling eyes of a Canadian. The red glare of the fire communicated additional animation to their rude features; and their bushy black beards and discordant voices rendered them rather a formidable looking set of people."

The Montreal region was home for the majority of the batteaumen. The formidable Lachine Rapids prevented ships coming from Europe from navigating any farther than Montreal. Cargoes destined for points farther inland were carried around the rapids by wagon to the village of Lachine. This was the point of departure for batteaux heading to Lake Ontario, as well as for the large fur trade canoes destined up the Ottawa River to the far northwest.

If batteaux were easier to navigate than bark canoes, a great deal of skill was nonetheless required. Steering a loaded open boat into whitewater requires steady nerves and knowledge that can be gained only through long experience. Attempts



ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, AO 5985

A ten-metre-long lumberman's batteau, a more modern version of the hardy craft used on the St. Lawrence River, navigates through the Lachine Rapids. The picture was staged by famed photographer William Notman in the yard behind his studio to recreate a real incident from January 1, 1878.

to save the expense of hiring experienced hands could end in disaster. In 1756, British General William Shirley employed some of his regular troops to take batteaux up the Mohawk River route to Lake Ontario and found himself extremely disappointed. "The men were terrified at places; easy to those accustomed to battoes," wrote a contemporary observer, the Philadelphia scientist and cartographer Lewis Evans, "and thought it less risk of hanging for desertion, and leaving the battoes and lading, than of drowning by running down the several rifts and falls." A few years later, in 1760, eighty-four men drowned in the Cedars Rapids when British General Jeffery Amherst led his army down the river to Montreal without enough experienced men to pilot the batteaux.

Isaac Weld, an Irish writer who toured the United States and Canada from 1795 to 1797, left this detailed description of how the batteaux were organized and propelled: "Three men are found sufficient to conduct an empty bateau of about two tons burthen up the St. Lawrence, but if the bateaux are laden, more are generally allowed. They ascend the stream by means of poles, oars, and sails. Where the current is very strong, they make use of the former, keeping as close as possible to the shore, in order to avoid the current, and to have the advantage of shallow water to pole in. The men set their poles altogether at the same moment, and all work at the same side of the bateau; the steersman, however, shifts his pole occasionally from side to side, in order to keep the vessel in an even direction. The poles commonly used are about eight feet in length, extremely light, and headed with iron. On coming to a deep bay or inlet, the men abandon the poles, take to their oars, and strike if possible directly across the mouth of the bay; but in many places the current proves so strong that it is absolutely impossible to stem it by means of oars, and they are obliged to pole entirely round the bays. Whenever the wind is favourable, they set their sail; but it is only at the upper end of the river, beyond the rapids, or on the lakes or broad parts of it, where the current is not swift, that the sail by itself is sufficient to impel them forward."

Travel by sail and oar on the St. Lawrence River is conducted at the mercy of the weather. Rowing and poling against the current is difficult enough, but add a strong headwind and progress becomes impossible. Batteaumen and their passengers often travelled right through the night, even in the rain, in order to make distance during favourable winds. Although the hours were long, the rowers were allowed to take frequent short breaks along the route, as well as longer breaks to cook a meal and to sleep. Passengers were required to bring their own food and bedding on a batteau voyage, and they were frequently astonished by the ability of the batteaumen to thrive on the coarsest of food and the most meagre bedding. The provisions brought on the voyage were supplemented by whatever food could be caught, picked, shot, or bought along the way.

Howison recorded the men's prodigious eating habits. "After rowing nearly two hours, we landed upon a small island, and the boatmen began to make ready breakfast for themselves. They take a meal regularly every four hours during the four and twenty, and it is to be supposed that the great labour they undergo must create a proportionate appetite; but it does seem astonishing that they should be contented with the quality of

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the provisions they subsist upon. Pork, pease-soup and biscuit, compose their daily fare; and though they give their meals the appellations of breakfast, dinner, &c., this distinction is founded upon the time at which they are taken, not upon the difference of the articles presented at each."

Howison also noted that the difficulty of life on a St. Lawrence batteau did not seem to faze the crews. "But notwithstanding all this, they are the happiest race of people imaginable. Inured to hardship, they despise it; and after toiling at the oar during the whole day, and lightening their labour with songs and jests, when night comes, they kindle a fire and sleep around it, in defiance of the elements and everything else."

Weld was similarly impressed with the endurance of the batteaumen on his voyage. "The men were ordered to the oars, and notwithstanding that they had laboured hard during the preceding day, and had had no rest, yet they were kept closely at work until day-break, except for one hour, during which they were allowed to stop to cook their provisions. Where there is a gentle current, as in this part of the river, the Canadians will work at the oar for many hours without intermission; they seemed to think it no hardship to be employed in this instance the whole night; on the contrary, they plied as vigorously as if they had but just set out, singing merrily the whole time."

Weld described what the crew members ate during his voyage: "On setting out each man is furnished with a certain allowance of salted pork, biscuit, peas, and brandy; the peas and biscuit they boil with some of the pork into porridge, and a large vessel full of it is generally kept at the head of the bateau, for the use of the crew when they stop in the course of the day. This porridge, or else cold fat salted pork, with cucumbers, constitutes the principal part of their food."

Like the voyageurs who paddled freight canoes into the Northwest, the batteaumen of the St. Lawrence kept rhythm with traditional call-and-response songs, *chansons à répondre*. Travellers often wrote of how much they appreciated the way these songs livened the long voyage on the river. Elizabeth Simcoe, the wife of the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, wrote in her diary in 1792: "The evening calm and so very pleasant as almost to persuade me it is worthwhile to cross the Atlantic for the pleasure of voyaging on this delightful, lake-like river, the setting sun reflecting the deepest shades from the shores and throwing rich tints on the water. This repose is finely accompanied by the songs of the batteaux men, which accord in time to the regular stroke of the oars and have the best effect imaginable. After a day of fatigue and where strong currents require peculiar exertion they sing incessantly and give a more regular stroke with the oars when accompanied by the tunes. We admired one of their songs —'Trois Filles d'un Prince' — so much that we desired it to be often repeated."

Duncan found his fellow batteau passengers almost unbearable, but he managed to enjoy his soggy voyage in spite of them, thanks to the music provided by the crew. "Towards evening it began to rain; but some of the company on board were more disagreeable than the weather. But for their presence, I could have endured the rain for an hour or two, to listen to the boat songs of the Canadian voyageurs, which in the stillness of the night had a peculiar pleasing effect. They kept time to these songs as they rowed; and the splashing of the oars in the water combined with the wildness of their cadence, gave a romantic character to our darksome voyage."

As the population of the Great Lakes region increased, business required greater and greater shipping capacity. Canal-building along the St. Lawrence River, which had begun in the mid-1700s, allowed ever-larger boats to bypass the rapids. One by one, canals were completed to circumvent each set of rapids, diminishing the role of the batteau in commercial transportation on the St. Lawrence. In 1848, the final canal link was completed, allowing large steamboats to ascend the St. Lawrence all the way from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Ontario. No longer was it necessary for passengers and cargo to be transferred into batteaux to travel through the rapids of the St. Lawrence under human muscle power. After a century and a half, the trade of the St. Lawrence River batteaumen instantly became obsolete.

Travellers often wrote of how much they appreciated the songs that livened the long voyage on the river.

As often happens, when one door closes, another opens. Even though employment for batteaumen on the St. Lawrence waned, other opportunities appeared. The British demand for Canadian timber fuelled a logging boom in the St. Lawrence watershed. Fearless men who "knew every channel, rock and breaker in the rapids," as Duncan had observed, were suddenly in high demand to pilot enormous rafts of logs down through the St. Lawrence rapids and onward to the waiting ships in Quebec City. Other men were needed to transport the loggers safely to their backwoods shanties, and the "lumberman's batteau" appeared in the forests of Canada and the northern United States. Even farther afield, the batteau type developed into the fishing dory of the Atlantic coast and from there became known across the continent.

With the diaspora of the batteaumen, their craft faded from memory on the vessel's home waters. Few reminders remain today of the era when almost all passengers and cargoes travelled by batteau between Montreal and Lake Ontario. Near Kingston, Ontario, the thirteen-kilometre-long Bateau Channel marks the route travelled by John Duncan and Lady Simcoe through the Thousand Islands. Farther downstream at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec, visitors can see the remains of some of the oldest canals in Canada, which were built specifically to ease the passage of batteaux. It was here that the wave of canal construction began that would consign the St. Lawrence River batteaumen to history.

A scene from *Strike! The Musical*.

Taking to the streets

Retracing the flashpoints of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. *by Donna Janke*

On the corner of Lily Street and Market Avenue in Winnipeg's historic Exchange District, a weathered-steel monument commemorates the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. *The 1919 Marquee — a Monument to the Winnipeg General Strike* includes a map of key strike locations as well as a brief overview of the significance of some of the sites.

As I begin my zigzag route through the Exchange District, I reflect on the strike's beginning on May 15, 1919, when unionized workers assembled in front of city hall and marched south to the corner of Portage Avenue and Main Street. Within two hours, thousands of non-unionized workers joined them. Shops, factories, and restaurants closed.

On Main Street in front of the civic centre buildings that have replaced the "gingerbread" Victorian city hall, I visualize 1919 traffic — a cacophony of clattering trolleys, motor vehicles, and horseshoe clops — disrupted by marching strikers, and I imagine the eerie quiet that descended a few hours later after streetcars and delivery vehicles stopped service.

Weeks into the strike, on Saturday, June 21, the street in front of city hall was again the scene of a pivotal event: Thousands marched to protest the arrest of strike leaders.

By this time, streetcars were running again, and angry protesters overturned one streetcar and set it on fire. Fatal violence ensued when the members of the North West Mounted Police, armed with baseball bats and firearms, rode into the crowd. One striker died instantly after being hit, and another wounded striker died the following day. Thirty others were injured, and dozens were arrested.

The interior of the Burton Cummings Theatre, formerly the Walker Theatre, which hosted labour rallies prior to the 1919 strike.

Fighting spilled into a side street that became known as Hell's Alley. A ten-minute conflict resulted in twenty-seven casualties. The Centennial Concert Hall now occupies the space, but I can still imagine the terror of being trapped in a narrow lane as I walk a block east on Elgin Avenue, where railway tracks remain, now embedded in the street, and faded numbers on brick warehouses identify former loading docks.

A public art piece, the tilted and half-sunken *Bloody Saturday*, to be unveiled in the summer of 2019 on the corner of Main and Market, will be a visible reminder of the day's events. The James Street Labor Temple, at the time located a couple of blocks away, no longer exists.

Home to the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, the central organization of unionized workers, it was Cen-

ABOVE: DAVID HEWLETT. BELOW: BURTON CUMMINGS THEATRE

tral Strike Committee headquarters. The Central Strike Committee held rallies a block away in Victoria Park, where Waterfront Drive now runs. A condominium apartment block sits on one side, and the colourful, trendy Mere Hotel is on the other. Nearby, in Stephen Juba Park along the tree-lined banks of the Red River, I picture crowds of gathered workers.

The strike feels more remote at the next two still-standing landmarks, the Thomas Scott Memorial Orange Hall, where local unions rented space, and the Walker Theatre, now the Burton Cummings Theatre, where a December 1918 political and labour meeting attracted over 1,700 people.

The strike becomes real again at the Telegram Building, a four-storey brick edifice with ornate detailing. After being shut down for about a week at the beginning of the strike, the *Winnipeg Telegram*, the *Manitoba Free Press* and the *Winnipeg Evening Tribune* reported with definite anti-strike biases.

The Citizens' Committee paid for full-page ads with headlines like "Don't Be Misled — the Only Issue is Bolshevism." The *Winnipeg Citizen*, published daily by the Citizens' Committee, voiced similar sentiments. At the same time, the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council's *Western Labor News* published a daily pro-strike bulletin. Newspaper boys no longer peddle papers on the section of McDermot Avenue once known as "Newspaper Row," but the rhetoric and division of opinion seems familiar and current.

Other sites of historical significance exist beyond the boundaries of the monument map. A "Permitted by Authority of the Strike Committee" sign in a Winnipeg Police Museum exhibit makes me realize how the strike disrupted daily lives.

These signs were issued to restaurants, movie theatres, and milk, bread, and ice deliverers so they could continue to provide services. "Special Police" badges and armbands in the display case evoke feelings of uncertainty and fear of anarchy that must have been prevalent during the strike. The city's entire police force was dismissed on June 9 for refusing to sign an agreement prohibiting membership in any union. The city then hired hundreds of special recruits. A strike exhibit at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights contains similar artifacts.

The 1919 Winnipeg General Strike is now credited with laying the seeds of the modern Canadian labour movement.

Its memory is particularly fresh on its hundredth anniversary, with a series of community events sponsored by the Manitoba Federation of Labour. The 2019 season of Rainbow Stage, Canada's largest and longest-running outdoor theatre, presents Danny Schur's *Strike! The Musical*. A movie version is slated for release. Winnipeg's Exchange District BIZ will offer a special version of its general strike walking tour. As I view sites that might be on that tour, I wonder how 1919 Winnipeg residents would feel about the strike's legacy.

Mounted police charge through Winnipeg in a scene from *1919: A Graphic History of the Winnipeg General Strike*.

DRAWING THE LINES

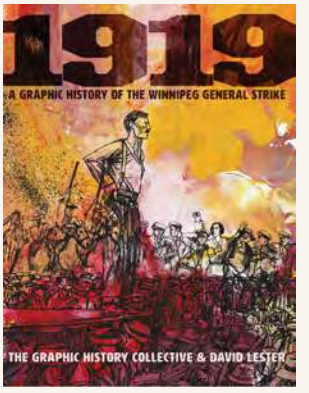
New comic commemorates iconic 1919 strike.

The Winnipeg General Strike is being brought to vivid life in a new graphic novel that explores the 1919 labour-rights milestone from an anti-capitalist point of view.

Published by Between The Lines, a Toronto-based publisher devoted to "equitable social change," *1919: A Graphic History of the Winnipeg General Strike* was produced by the Graphic History Collective and David Lester.

Founded in 2008, the Graphic History Collective is a group of activists, artists, writers, and researchers passionate about comics, history and social change.

Its other graphic novels include *May Day: a Graphic History of Protest in Canada*, and *Drawn to Change: Graphic Histories of Working Class Struggle*.



The cover of *1919: A Graphic History of the Winnipeg General Strike*.

CHRISTOPHER MOORE

WE WILL MAINTAIN
CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY, LAW & ORDER.
...DOWN WITH THE HIGH COST OF LIVING...
TO HELL WITH THE ALIEN ENEMY
...GOD SAVE THE KING...

Resistance redux

If the Winnipeg General Strike taught us anything, it's that tolerance must always trump racist fear-mongering.

Fear and politics make a bad mix. Left unchecked, politicians can stoke paranoia to achieve less than noble ends. It's what happened a century ago in Winnipeg, as the general strike loomed in the spring of 1919.

Looking back, you can see why the people of Winnipeg might have been worried. Unless the workers' strike committee gave permission to essential workers, the city's business would come to a stop. No bread would be baked, no milk delivered. No ice for the icebox, in the midst of a heat wave. Water pressure would falter in the taps, and electricity would flicker out. No streetcars running, no restaurants open, no newspapers. No telephone calls or telegrams to be sent or received.

With the basics of life under question, even those who supported the strike must have feared hardship. And soon that fear was turned into a weapon.

There was talk of socialist revolution in the air in 1919, but what unified the long-suffering Winnipeg workers behind the strike was the promise of industry-wide unions able to face the employers' councils that already existed — hardly a radical proposal. City councillors hoped a peaceful settlement could be reached, and Manitoba's Crown-appointed law officers declined to launch prosecutions that could have made almost any strike action illegal.

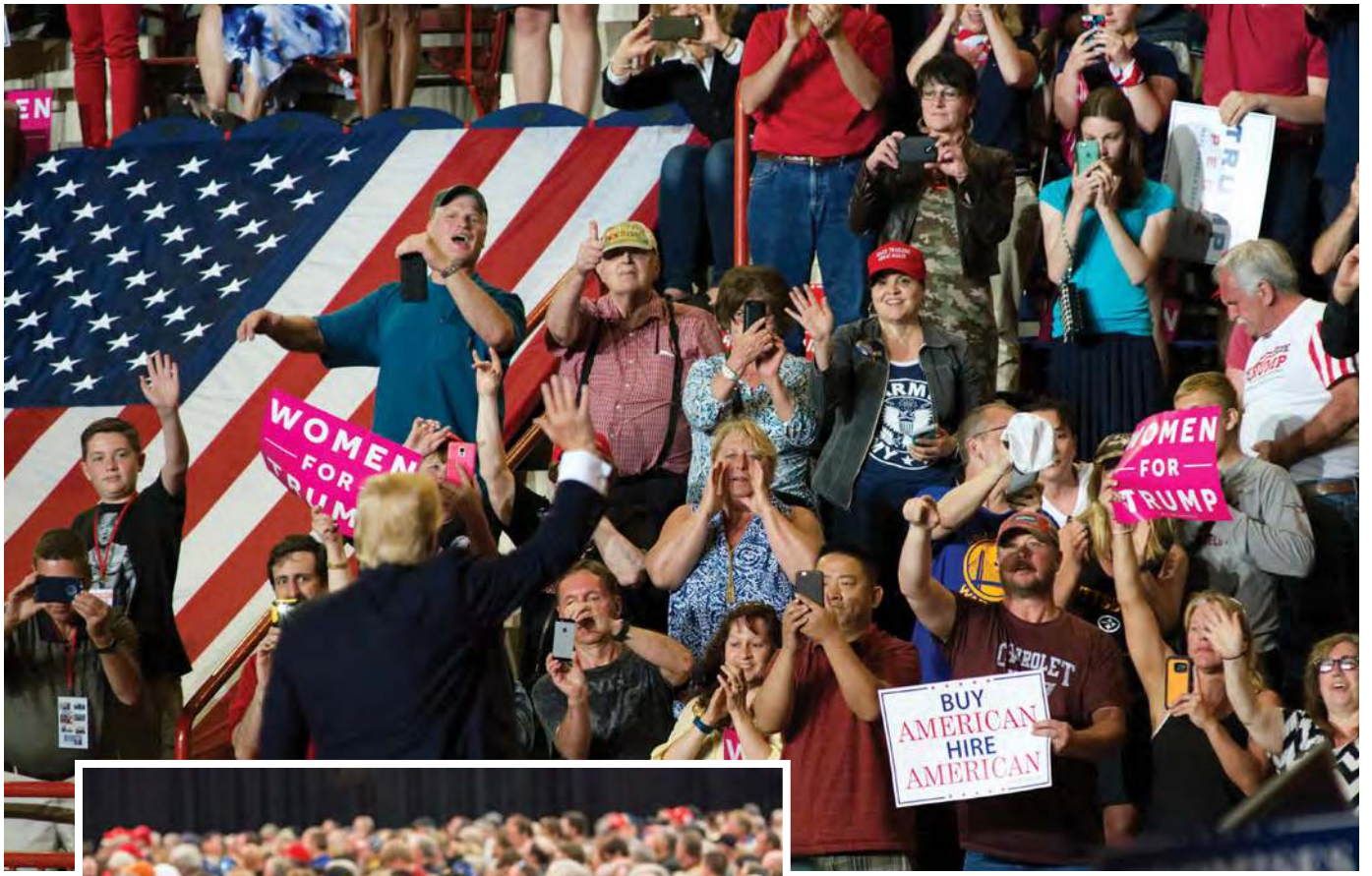
Perhaps tolerance and negotiation were about to triumph over fear. But the Winnipeg business leaders who called themselves the Citizens' Committee of 1,000 had other ideas. The Citizens' Committee launched a campaign of propaganda and fear-mongering against the strike. It turned people's reasonable concerns about bread and milk into lurid threats of starving children and red revolution. Its members even persuaded city council to lay off the entire police force because it was unionized — but still working — and provided a replacement, the "special constables." It was a recipe for conflict.

Denouncing the strikers as Bolshevik revolutionaries and subversive aliens, the Citizens' Committee persuaded Ottawa to amend Canada's immigration laws, so that British-born and European-born strike leaders could be swiftly deported.

The fear campaign killed all possibility of compromise in Winnipeg.

Soon the special constables were brawling with strikers in the streets. The committee launched its own private prosecution of the remaining strike leaders,

CP IMAGES



Opposite page: First World War veterans salute the king and blame the "alien enemy" during an anti-strike march on June 4, 1919. However, many veterans in Winnipeg supported the strikers.

Top: Republican U.S. presidential nominee Donald Trump greets supporters during a campaign rally in 2016.

Left: A Trump supporter shows his approval of a proposed wall between Texas and Mexico. Trump promised to build the wall – and to force Mexico to pay for it – during the 2016 presidential campaign. Trump claimed the wall would stop illegal immigrants from entering the United States.

ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

charging them with the crime of seditious conspiracy: fomenting revolution, no less. Leaderless, the strikers were unable to continue. The Winnipeg General Strike was quickly broken, leaving a legacy of bitterness and hardened resistance.

Even before Winnipeg, Canadians had been battered by political fear-mongering. The Conservative federal government of Robert Borden had turned the wartime election of 1917 into a brutal contest of patriotism versus disloyalty, with millions deprived of the vote and minority populations demonized.

At the end of the First World War, with unemployment rising and the Russian Revolution stoking new fears of subversion, the Winnipeg strike provoked new abuses of due process and democratic norms.

In 1919, leaders of these dubious practices included Prime Minister Borden, his successor Arthur Meighen, and the leader of the Winnipeg Citizens' Committee, A.J. Andrews. All three men were distinguished lawyers, able to wax eloquent about the glories of British traditions of good government and impartial justice. But they all found themselves persuaded to stoke fears instead of quelling them, subverting civil rights and impartial justice in the process.

A hundred years later, we again hear claims that our society and culture must arm itself against the threat of subversive minorities and foreign terrorists. Yielding to fear-mongering did not work out well in 1919, and we still need to resist that temptation in 2019.

Christopher Moore (christophermoore.ca) comments in every issue of *Canada's History*. (With a salute to *When the State Trembled*, an insightful history of the Winnipeg General Strike by Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell.)

OPEN BOOK

Cultural manoeuvres

The symbols by which we understand our country and ourselves have histories that are more complicated than we might often realize or consider, and Canadians may have very different appraisals of and feelings toward any one symbol. In the new book Symbols of Canada*, editors Michael Dawson, Catherine Gidney, and Donald Wright take the opportunity to present stories about the pasts and possible futures of symbols including the beaver, the totem pole, hockey, the Canadian Pacific Railway, and Anne of Green Gables.*

They say their book "invites readers to explore the ways in which Canadians employ symbols, are shaped by symbols, and (although this might seem un-*Canadian) argue over symbols." This is something they hope will allow us "to better understand Canada's past and present — and to anticipate and shape its future."*

In a chapter about the canoe, part of which follows here, sports and leisure historian Jessica Dunkin considers the history of the iconic watercraft, from the variety of designs and uses produced and made by First Nations living in different environments, to ways the vessel was used by settlers for work and leisure, to the canoe's importance as part of the present-day Indigenous reclamation of traditional practices and relationships with the land. Her book Canoe and Canvas *will be published in 2019.*

Canoe

by Jessica Dunkin

THE CANOE IS ROUTINELY UNDERSTOOD as "one of the great Canadian icons," a tool of diplomacy and cross-cultural collaboration that made this place called Canada possible, a humble craft that connects Canadians to wild places and rewards determination and hard work. Such representations overlook how the canoe as a physical object and symbol has participated in the expansion of a colonial market economy, displacing Indigenous communities and fuelling resource extraction. They also allow a very particular activity — contemporary recreational canoeing is dominated by middle-class white people — to stand in for the nation. A closer look at the canoe as an object and symbol, focusing on themes of appropriation and settler

E. Pauline Johnson, also known as Tekahionwake, was a popular Mohawk poet and performer as well as a skilled canoeist.

COURTESY BETWEEN THE LINES, FROM BRANTFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

colonialism, work and recreation, and Indigenous resilience and resurgence, reveals the multiple divergent meanings attached to the small craft.

The stereotypically Canadian canoe is a red sixteen-foot Prospector. One hundred years ago, it would have been made of cedar and canvas. Today, it is more likely to be moulded from a composite like Royalex or Kevlar. It likely has two seats, and its occupants propel it with long, single-blade paddles. In reality, there has always been much greater variation in the size, shape, and materials of canoes. This is especially true of canoes built by Indigenous nations.

The different styles of canoe are as numerous as the meanings attached to them, the richness and complexity of Indigenous canoeing traditions reflecting the richness and complexity of Indigenous cultures, cosmologies, and relations with the land. More than tools of transportation, canoes are commonly understood as living things with spirits. The First Nations of the Pacific Coast, including the Coast Salish, Kwakwaka'wakw, and Haida, transform giant cedars into ocean-going crafts of different sizes through a process of shaping, hollowing, steaming, and carving. River canoes are typically made of deciduous trees, using a similar process. Each nation has its own designs, which are uniquely suited to local conditions and uses. Alongside totem poles and plank houses, canoes are a form of monumental art on the Northwest Coast, symbols of clan and community.

The most common traditional canoe style on the continent, owing to the extensive range of *Betula papyrifera* (paper birch), is the birchbark canoe. Here again there is diversity within and between nations, reflecting local materials, needs, and cultures. The Mi'kmaq of the Atlantic coast build sleek ocean-going birchbark canoes with low, rounded ends that avoid catching the wind and raised gunwales to protect the occupants from waves. One of the canoe styles favoured by the Eeyouch (Cree) and Innu in what is now northern Quebec and Labrador has a steep rise along the keel line so that the bow and stern are as much as a foot higher than the boat's midpoint. This sharply rockered style is highly manoeuvrable and well suited to river travel.

Prior to contact, canoes allowed Indigenous nations across the continent to move through their homelands in search of food, people, and trade goods. Europeans arriving in North America from the sixteenth century onward survived and later flourished because they adopted Indigenous technologies, chief among them the canoe. The canoe enabled explorers, missionaries, voyageurs, surveyors, and settlers alike to travel to the many corners of the continent, which in turn provided them with access to people and resources. The canoe, in other words, enabled the expansion of European economies and the colonial state, expansion that infringed with devastating consequences on the lives, lifeways, and lands of Indigenous peoples.

In Canada, the canoe has long been associated with the fur trade and the romantic figure of the voyageur. The design of canoes used to transport people and pelts across the vast interior of North America from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century was borrowed from Indigenous watercraft. Most were constructed of birchbark held together by spruce root, stretched over a wooden frame, and sealed with spruce or pine gum. However, boats built for the fur trade were often much larger than the birchbark canoes used by Indigenous nations. The largest of the voyageur canoes, the *canots du maître*, were typically thirty feet in length and four to six feet wide at the midpoint. Powered by five to eight paddlers, these canoes could carry up to five tonnes of cargo. With few exceptions, fur trade canoes were built by Indigenous people, and Indigenous people, especially the Métis, often paddled the large crafts as they journeyed between metropole and hinterland. …

> The renewal of canoeing traditions is part of a larger wave of Indigenous resurgence.

The canoe is rarely imagined as a tool of surveillance and state formation, even though it was vital to surveying and mapping the territory that in 1867 became the Dominion of Canada. The Geological Survey of Canada was created in 1842 to generate a detailed geological assessment of northern North America. Prior to the 1930s, when planes took over as the primary surveying tool, canoes, often propelled by Indigenous paddlers, ferried white surveyors and their equipment through the interior. Canoes remained indispensable to surveying well into the twenti-

Three Eeyouch (Cree) paddlers use a canoe that is sharply rockered for manoeuvrability on the Great Whale River of northern Quebec in 1903.

eth century. … The surveys and maps generated in the wake of these canoe journeys produced knowledge about the Canadian territory, which facilitated further white settlement, resource extraction, and industrial development.

For much of the canoe's history, paddling for pleasure was secondary to more utilitarian pursuits, such as harvesting or transportation. Today, however, the canoe is most often imagined as a recreational craft. The recreational canoe has its roots in the mid-nineteenth century. One of the epicentres of this transformation was Peterborough, Ontario. Early white settlers in the area bought birchbark canoes from Anishinaabe builders. Later, they experimented with constructing their own craft in the form of dugouts, also modelled on Anishinaabe boats. Author Susanna Moodie described paddling and sailing for pleasure on Lake Katchewanooka in the 1830s. As early as 1849, settlers in the region were organizing canoe races with separate categories for "Indians" and "white men." A nascent canoe-building industry emerged in Peterborough in the 1860s. By the turn of the century, the Peterborough Canoe Company and others were supplying canoes to paddling enthusiasts near and far. …

It is no coincidence that at the same time that Euro-Canadian canoeists were taking to the water in boats appropriated from Indigenous nations, the Canadian state was implementing the *Indian Act*, a comprehensive set of laws introduced in 1876 to destroy Indigenous cultures and assimilate the continent's First Peoples into mainstream settler society. Residential schools, forced settlement on reserves, the outlawing of cultural practices such as the potlatch, and the destruction of traditional economies, all profoundly affected Indigenous lifeways, including the construction and use of canoes. …

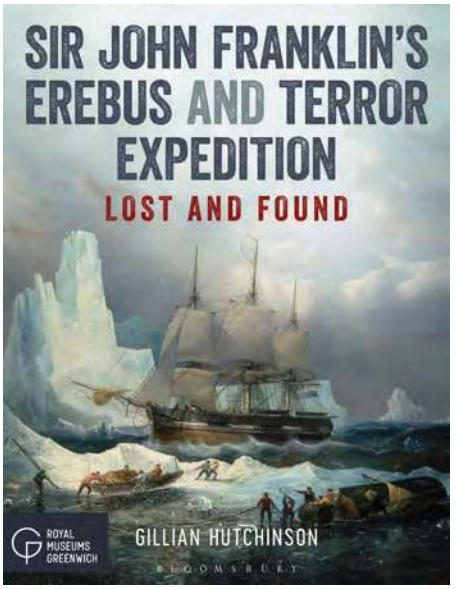
While it is important to map the appropriation of the canoe by Euro-Canadians, and to detail how the canoe has been a physical and symbolic tool of settler colonialism, there are other stories to tell. Indeed, the renewal of canoeing traditions in Indigenous communities in recent years is part of a larger wave of Indigenous resurgence. Nations are reasserting their sovereignty, reviving traditional economies and forms of governance, revitalizing languages, and reclaiming cultural practices.

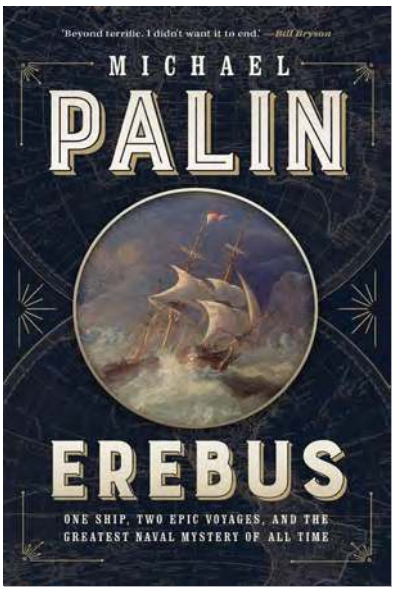
Given the centrality of the canoe to many Indigenous cultures, it is no wonder that boat building has been an important part of Indigenous resurgence. In Mi'kma'ki, master builder Todd Labrador has spent years learning how to construct birchbark canoes in the old way. Todd's great-grandfather, Joe Jermey, was also a master builder; he died the year after Todd was born. Though Todd's father Charlie never built a canoe, he was able to pass on what he learned from Joe, such as how to gather birchbark and spruce root, and how to bend wood for the frame. The rest Todd has gleaned through the careful study of photographs, consultations with Elders, and trial and error. Todd has built a number of canoes in the community. In 2016, for example, he worked with the Bear River First Nation in Nova Scotia to construct a birchbark canoe as part of Seven Paddles, a program that seeks to revitalize traditional canoe routes, while also passing on Mi'kmaw culture, traditions, and stories. Similar canoe-building projects have taken place in Indigenous communities from southwestern Ontario, to the northern territories, to the Pacific Coast over the last three decades. Canoe travel has been an equally important part of cultural revitalization. …

The canoe is an object with a complicated past. It has long been, and continues to be, a physical and symbolic tool of settler colonialism. But it also remains a symbol and tool of Indigenous nationhood, resilience, and resurgence. … For settler Canadians, attending to the past and present of canoe colonialism is an important part of decolonizing the canoe and nurturing respectful relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in this country, but it is only a part. To be truly transformative, education must be accompanied by action. For settler canoeists, this might begin by building relationships and cultivating ethical paddling practices. On whose territory do you wish to canoe? How does that nation understand respectful relations with the land, and what are your obligations as a visitor? Is that nation fighting to protect their territory or to gain access to their territory? How can you support them? Of course, these questions are just a beginning. As Leanne Simpson reminds us, the canoe is but one of many things stolen from Indigenous peoples. True reconciliation requires the full restoration of land and lifeways to Indigenous nations.

From Symbols of Canada, *edited by Michael Dawson, Catherine Gidney, and Donald Wright. Reprinted with permission of Between the Lines.*

COURTESY BETWEEN THE LINES; FROM QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES




'Beyond terrific. I didn't want it to end.' —Bill Bryson
MICHAEL
PALIN
EREBUS
ONE SHIP, TWO EPIC VOYAGES, AND THE GREATEST NAVAL MYSTERY OF ALL TIME

MUSTERING THE DETAILS

Sir John Franklin's Erebus and Terror Expedition: Lost and Found

by Gillian Hutchinson
Adlard Coles Nautical,
175 pages, $37

Erebus: One Ship, Two Epic Voyages, and the Greatest Naval Mystery of All Time

by Michael Palin
Random House Canada,
368 pages, $37

Few episodes in Canadian history have inspired as many books and articles as the missing last expedition of Sir John Franklin. The recent discoveries of the wrecks of HMS *Erebus* in 2014 and HMS *Terror* in 2016 have further fuelled this publishing phenomenon. An overriding question for readers, whether Franklin enthusiasts, scholars, or members of the general reading public, is the extent to which any new book adds to the existing knowledge of Franklin, his ships, and the men who accompanied him to the Arctic.

Gillian Hutchinson's *Sir John Franklin's Erebus and Terror Expedition* is an illustrated history focussing on images of Franklin artifacts, maps, written documents, paintings, and wood engravings, as well as the collection of daguerreotype portraits of the expedition's officers made just before their departure in 1845. Many of the original objects reside in British collections, including at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, which co-published the book. Modern-day aspects of the Franklin story are covered in the penultimate chapter and illustrated with arresting surface and underwater colour photographs of the search and the wrecks discovered by Parks Canada's researchers.

These diverse images carry much of the story that is told in mostly chronological fashion in ten chapters, from the search for the Northwest Passage to the modern-era investigations and discoveries of the ships. Exceptions to the chronological approach are chapters on Franklin and the two ships he commanded on his last fateful expedition.

Despite including several references to Inuit and reproducing the map of Franklin sites drawn by the Inuk Innookpoozhejook for the American explorer Charles Francis Hall, this book is light on Inuit aspects of the story. A chapter entitled "McClintock discovers the fate of the Franklin Expedition" does not fully acknowledge the contribution of Inuit who collected and traded many of the artifacts brought back by the explorers, and who contributed knowledge that significantly enabled McClintock's revelations of 1859.

A welcome feature is the book's transcription and publication of the original muster tables of the two ships, heretofore only accessible to researchers at the British National Archives. Providing the names, ages, places of birth, and family data of every crew member, the muster tables are valuable documents for Franklin researchers. Hutchinson's book's most important contribution is its selection and display of a large number of original artifacts relating to Franklin's expedition, predecessor forays by the British navy, and succeeding voyages in search of the missing party.

As suggested by its title, Michael Palin's *Erebus: One Ship, Two Epic Voyages, and the Greatest Naval Mystery of All Time* treats the larger history of HMS *Erebus* throughout its long history with the British navy, including its voyage to Antarctic regions from 1840 to 1843, its fateful last expedition of 1845, and the mystery regarding its fate. Palin is a gifted storyteller and has an unerring eye for illuminating anecdotes. His gripping account of the voyage of *Erebus* to Antarctica is particularly good and details an important period that will not be as familiar for many Franklin students. Palin's treatment of work and daily life aboard the ships is engrossing. Drawing on personal correspondence, he offers insightful interpretations of the personalities of Franklin's senior officers.

Palin provides a bibliography of books and articles he relied upon in researching his book and offers useful accounts of some of the important manuscript sources in the text. Yet, while he clearly made extensive use of original materials in British archival collections, it is disappointing that he did not incorporate these sources into his bibliography or reference them in notes. Hutchinson similarly does not provide notes, and neither author appears to have consulted North American manuscript collections. Palin compensates in part by relying on David Woodman's treatment of Inuit sources in the latter's book *Unravelling*

the Franklin Mystery. Palin's careful analysis of British manuscript sources is impressive, but he has not investigated Hall's voluminous original field notebooks and journals at the Smithsonian Archives in Washington, D.C., the most important source of Inuit knowledge on the Franklin expedition from the nineteenth century.

British sources cannot in themselves tell the full story of the Franklin expedition. For example, Palin draws on comparative evidence to reconstruct expedition life on *Erebus* and *Terror* during nearly two years of besetment in the ice until the ships' desertion in April 1848, implying that they largely confined their activities to life aboard ship. However, we have direct evidence in Inuit accounts collected by Hall that suggests Franklin's men made a series of forays to King William Island in this interval, travelling well down its western shores. Palin summarizes the limitations of the provisions brought by the party from England but does not reference Inuit evidence of hunting and fishing activities by Francis Crozier's party in areas between Cape Crozier and Cape Herschel. As well, Palin states that Franklin's men did not seek to trade with Inuit for food, but Hall's oral histories reveal that Crozier did trade with them for seal meat on at least one occasion.

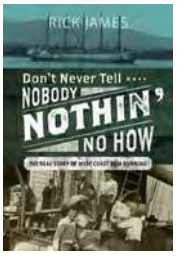
Both books are engagingly written and accessible to a wide audience. They comprise significant assemblages of current knowledge of Franklin's last expedition as revealed in the documentary sources and artifacts in British archives and museums and are thereby worthwhile contributions to the literature. What remains to be detailed and studied more fully is the evidence of Inuit observers as recorded from the 1850s to the present — something that holds the potential to further revise or even overturn existing understandings of this famous expedition and its many mysteries.

Reviewed by **Lyle Dick**, the principal of Lyle Dick History and Heritage and the research director and co-creator of the website The Franklin Mystery: Life and Death in the Arctic (2015).

EXPORT BUSINESS

Don't Never Tell Nobody Nothin' No How: The Real Story of West Coast Rum Running

by Rick James
Harbour Publishing, 320 pages, $32.95



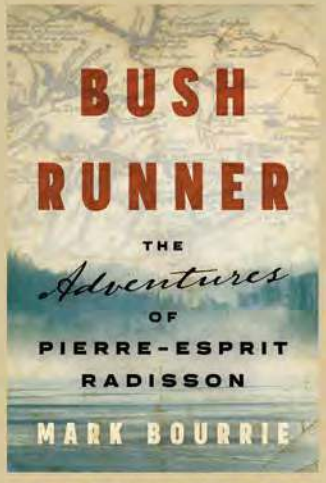
During Prohibition in the United States, which lasted from 1920 to 1933, a vast river of liquor flowed south across the border from Canada. The illicit cargo travelled by sea, air, and land, by boat, by high-speed motor car, by toboggan, pack animal, airplane, by every means

BUSH RUNNER
The Adventures of Pierre-Esprit Radisson
PRAISE FOR MARK BOURRIE

"*[The Fog of War]* may well be the book of record on Canadian Second World War censorship."
—National Post

"[He] has done yeoman archival research and he presents much excellent material ... Bourrie's book, written in good journalistic prose, is an entertaining one to read."
—Globe and Mail

"Taking the reader through a myriad of changes wrought by the government, Bourrie builds a solid, credible argument about how Canadians have been kept in the dark about what the government is doing ... I loved it."
—Toronto Star



978-1-77196-237-7
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BIBLIOASIS
READ INDEPENDENTLY

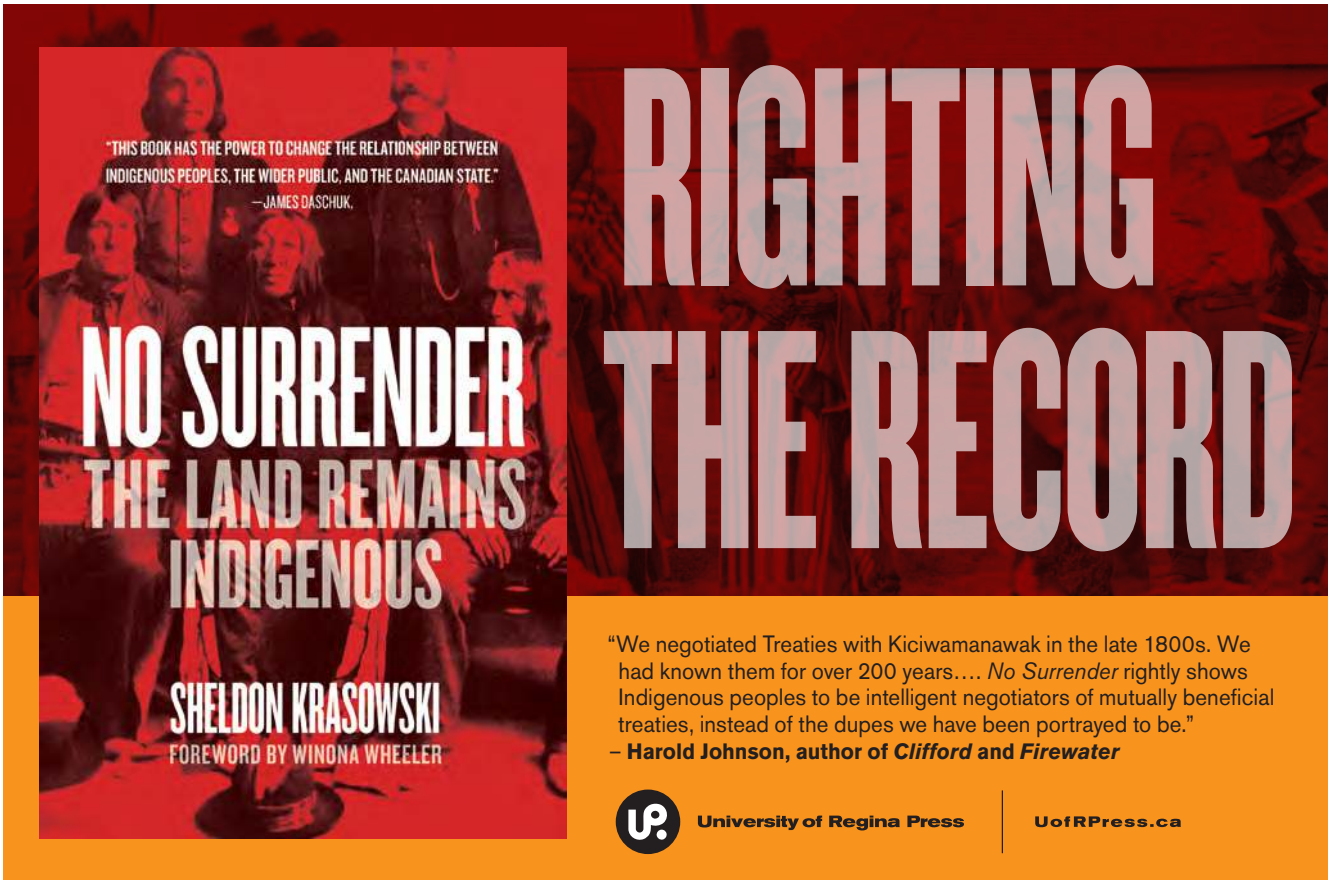
of transport known, and by some newly invented for the purpose. According to Rick James, in his new book *Don't Never Tell Nobody Nothin' No How*, the United States Coast Guard estimated that eighty per cent of the liquor manufactured in Canada during those years made its way across the line.

James' authoritative and entertaining book takes a new look at one aspect of this illicit traffic, the story of the rum-runners who smuggled booze down the Pacific Coast from British Columbia into the western states. The romantic image of the rum-runner evokes a swashbuckling freelancer dodging the Coast Guard in his converted speedboat while running a few dozen crates of liquor into the secluded harbours of Puget Sound and the San Juan Islands. This image was true enough, at least in the early days. But, as James shows, rum-running evolved into a highly organized, highly profitable business involving an elaborate network of ocean-going freighters and a web of distilleries and brewery interests that included some of Vancouver's leading commercial families.

On the British Columbia side of the boundary, there was nothing illegal about what the smugglers were doing. As far as the Canadian government was concerned, it was the responsibility of the Americans to police their own borders. Not to mention the tax revenues that flowed into provincial and federal coffers. James reports that in the decade from 1922 to 1932 Ottawa took in $399 million in liquor taxes, while the provinces collected another $152 million. With profits that large there was little incentive to rein in the rum-runners.

The smugglers were a tight-lipped fraternity, and James' title refers to their reluctance to talk about their exploits. They took the old First World War slogan to heart: "loose lips sink ships." In the words of one mariner, "rum runners made the Sphinx sound like a chatterbox." So it is all the more impressive that James has managed to compile such a thorough account of how this clandestine operation worked.

The rum-runners may seem like characters out of an adventure movie — fun to read about but lacking gravitas. Yet, as James suggests, they made a significant contribution to the provincial economy, especially during the early years of the Depression. One of the most prominent members of the fraternity was Captain Charles Hudson, the general manager of the largest liquor cartel. One writer called him "the true master mind of Rum Row." It was Hudson's contention that the rum-runners created so much business, and so many jobs, for suppliers, boat yards, engine works, and unemployed mariners that they saved the port of Vancouver. The city "was in the midst of a real depression, with logging, fishing, mining, etc. in the doldrums," he later told an interviewer. "It took rum running to


"THIS BOOK HAS THE POWER TO CHANGE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, THE WIDER PUBLIC, AND THE CANADIAN STATE."
—JAMES DASCHUK,
NO SURRENDER
THE LAND REMAINS INDIGENOUS
SHELDON KRASOWSKI
FOREWORD BY WINONA WHEELER
RIGHTING THE RECORD
"We negotiated Treaties with Kiciwamanawak in the late 1800s. We had known them for over 200 years.... No Surrender rightly shows Indigenous peoples to be intelligent negotiators of mutually beneficial treaties, instead of the dupes we have been portrayed to be."
– Harold Johnson, author of Clifford and Firewater
University of Regina Press
UofRPress.ca

keep industry going…."

Rick James' book makes a good case that during the early 1930s it was indeed Charles Hudson, his gang of smugglers, and the liquor industry in general that kept Vancouver's economy afloat on a sea of illicit booze.

Reviewed by **Daniel Francis**, winner of the 2017 Pierre Berton Award and author of, among other books, *Closing Time: Prohibition, Rum-Runners, and Border Wars*.

REVEALING REFUSE

The Ward Uncovered: The Archaeology of Everyday Life

edited by Holly Martelle, Michael McClelland, Tatum Taylor, and John Lorinc
Coach House Books, 304 pages, $27.95

While tidying guru Marie Kondo's method of purging items that don't "spark joy" is sweeping the nation, archaeologists are bucking the trend. Indeed, our mess is their key to unlocking the past and its secrets.

In 2015, a team of archaeologists began an urban dig in the heart of Toronto's downtown, uncovering the evidence of the Ward — a dense and diverse immigrant neighbourhood that thrived from the 1840s to 1950s. *The Ward Uncovered* uses the ordinary objects its residents left behind — a soda bottle, a hat mould, an inkwell — to reconstruct the lives of these newcomers and to allow their voices to be heard.

From the first pages, the book's editors declare that "the object is the subject." This is more provocative than it might seem, when taken within the context of historic record itself. For generations, men with power shaped history, considering it their story to tell. The counterculture of the 1960s broke down this monopoly, with new perspectives breaking through, including an approach called "history from below." Mostly for the first time, the lived experiences of the working class, immigrants, the poor — in other words, men and women like those who occupied the Ward — were the subject of historic narratives.

However, *The Ward Uncovered* takes this one crucial step further, to the things that compose everyday life. We're talking ordinary items — garbage, even. And yet, those objects tell us a story, if we pay attention. No one really thinks about the history of a ubiquitous urban feature such as a parking lot; it might be hard to imagine that such a patch of asphalt once marked a vibrant "arrival city" for immigrants in Canada's leading metropolis.

The book is composed of short essays by different contributors, carefully pieced together in thematic sections that are designed to peel back each layer of the lives of the Ward's residents. It thereby mimics an archaeological dig in a highly effective way.

The artifact is always the starting point. Fish bones found in an excavation of a privy suggest that Irish-Catholic immigrants maintained "Old World traditions." In other privies, gilded ceramic plates and coconut husks defy expectations as signs of luxury amid poverty. The foundations of a Russian synagogue and of a Black church reveal themselves to be more than centres of community and religious life — they were also safe havens for minorities escaping oppression and enslavement. Readers get to encounter the residents, seeing their actual possessions through beautiful, full-colour photographs or hearing them in their own words through letters and interviews. As Holly Martelle puts it, archaeology is both "science and storytelling." *The Ward Uncovered* gives readers both, but it's the stories that shine through.

There is much to unpack in *The Ward Uncovered*, but the effect is intentional. Each essay builds intimacy between the reader and the subject. We begin to feel that we know each other as we learn what the Ward's residents ate, where they worked, how they socialized, and how they fought for equality. We learn this in the smallest, most ordinary of ways and in big ways, too.

When I put down this book, one question lingered: How will archaeologists and historians truly know the stories of our present day-to-day experiences in another two hundred years? Key parts of our lives wind up in landfills. And is social media our dumping ground, our virtual privy?

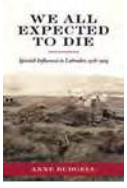
The Ward Uncovered allows us to know people who have often been left out of history, and it not only leads us to our shared past but points to the future: How will we be known? What do we leave behind?

Reviewed by **Sharon Hanna**, editor of regional history at Biblioasis press in Windsor, Ontario.

MORE BOOKS

We All Expected to Die: Spanish Influenza in Labrador, 1918–1919

by Anne Budgell
ISER Books, 392 pages, $26.95



One of the saddest places I've ever seen is Hebron, an abandoned coastal settlement in northern Labrador. All that is visible today is a long and decaying building, its wooden walls silvered and shrunken by harsh Atlantic winds, and the overgrown remnants of sod houses in the scrubby land around it. These are the ghostly remains of a once-buoyant community and trading post that was established among the Inuit by Moravian missionaries from Germany late in the eighteenth century and that had a population of over two hundred by 1918.

But that fall, the Moravian supply ship *Harmony* arrived from St. John's with a sailor aboard suffering from Spanish influenza. Within a month, the Inuit inhabitants of Hebron and the neighbouring Moravian community of Okak were almost completely wiped out.

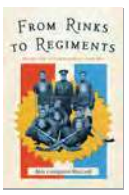
Further south on the Labrador coast, infected sailors aboard the freight ship *Sagona* spread the flu into fishing communities in the Sandwich Bay area. The death toll amongst these settlers was alarming, but nothing close to the

near obliteration of the Inuit converts in Hebron and Okak. The Newfoundland government in St. John's showed little concern about any of these appalling public-health disasters along the Labrador coast. A reporter quoted a government minister shrugging, "Let 'em die."

Newfoundland journalist Anne Budgell has mined diaries, letters, official correspondence, and newspapers in her extraordinary account of how — and why — the flu epidemic was more deadly in remote Labrador than anywhere else on the globe. Survivors described with chilling precision how strong men dropped dead while stoking the stove, how dogs feasted on the rotting corpses, and how children were left orphaned and starving. In most of the affected communities there were too few adults left to dig graves in the frozen ground; some corpses were tipped through holes chipped into thick sea ice.

We All Expected to Die has elements of the kind of dystopic end-of-time fiction that is fashionable today — but the events in Labrador a century ago involved real people. Their ghosts surround you in Hebron. Budgell's careful reconstruction of the impact of a pandemic is an impressive achievement. — *Charlotte Gray*

From Rinks to Regiments: Hockey Hall-of-Famers and the Great War
by Alan Livingstone MacLeod
Heritage House Publishing,
192 pages, $19.95



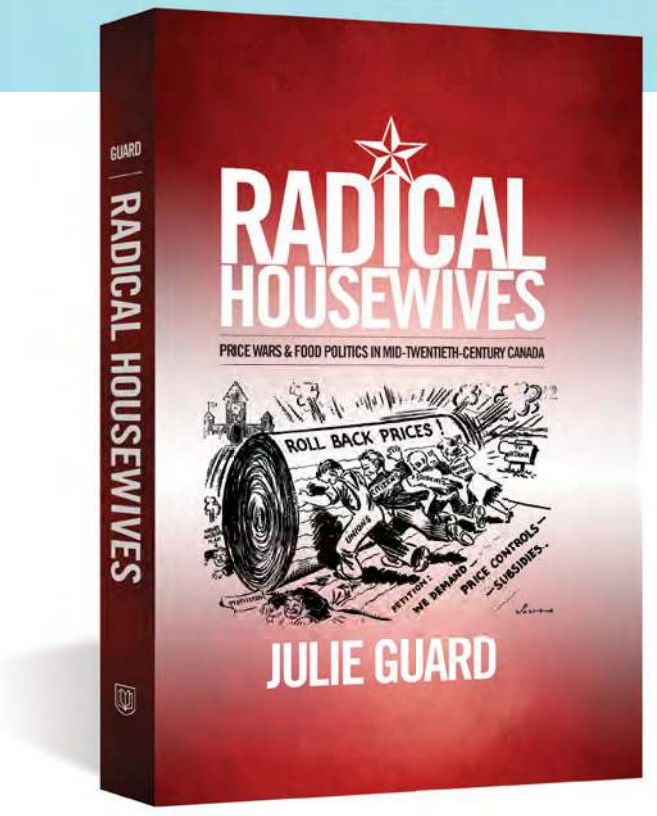
For a goalie, "Peerless" Percy LeSueur could handle a puck with the best of them. But he couldn't have predicted that his skill with a twig would land him a new gig, teaching the deadly art of bayonet warfare.

LeSueur, who protected the twine for the Ottawa Senators in the early twentieth century, joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force late in 1916. For a short time he played in a special battalion for hockey players that was created as a recruiting tool to boost enlistment during the First World War.

The then-thirty-four-year-old was fortunate — he never saw action and instead worked as a trainer of new recruits. But many of his skating compatriots weren't so fortunate. Some were wounded; others were killed. The First World War left an entire generation scarred in some way or another.

In the new book *From Rinks to Regiments*, author Alan Livingstone MacLeod recounts the tales of men like LeSueur who served their country between 1914 and 1918. MacLeod's writing is lively and brisk, and the book features plenty of historical hockey photos that fuel our nostalgia for "the good ol' hockey game." It's a great gift for hockey fans who appreciate the storied history of a game that is, ironically, known by the nickname "war on ice." — *Mark Collin Reid*

New from **University of Toronto Press**



"*Radical Housewives* is an extraordinary achievement – an important milestone in the writing about Canada's postwar history."

– Ian McKay, McMaster University

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Governor General Julie Payette, front row centre, at Rideau Hall in Ottawa with recipients of the 2018 Governor General's History Awards and Canada's History Society representatives.

A historic occasion

Governor General's History Awards celebrate the creative and innovative people and organizations who make history relevant every day.

All across Canada, history champions are working every day to enlighten our students, connect our communities, and share increasingly diverse stories of the past.

In Nova Scotia, students at the Booker School in Port Williams were encouraged to tackle a decidedly controversial topic — what to do about the statue of Sir Edward Cornwallis, founder of Halifax and oppressor of the Mi'kmaq. The students researched multiple perspectives and shared their positions with the public, bringing people together, rather than wedging them further apart.

In Northern Quebec, the Aanischaaukamikw Cree Cultural Institute invited Canadians to learn about the values, teachings, and cultural history of the Eeyou Istchee, or People of the Land, through a travelling exhibit, Footprints: A Walk Through Generations.

These inspiring initiatives are just the tip of the iceberg.

Teachers are embracing technology and innovation to move beyond the boundaries of the classroom, turning students from passive recipients to active participants.

Museums and heritage groups are strengthening our communities through participatory and inclusive projects that add incredible depth to our understanding of the past.

In January, the Governor General's History Awards were held at Rideau Hall to celebrate the exemplary and inventive work of teachers, writers, scholars, and organizations that promote and popularize Canadian history.

Employing the framework of historical thinking that encourages us to ask rigorous questions of the past, the recipients' innovative approaches are breathing new life into old stories and inspiring the next generation of storytellers.

A day earlier, the award recipients shared their work with the national history community at the 11th Canada's History Forum.

The annual networking opportunity brought together historians, educators, museum curators, community leaders, and the public to encourage an exchange of ideas and to shape new thinking so that Canadian narratives can reach wider, diverse audiences.

Canada's National History Society is proud to deliver the Governor General's History Awards and the Canada's History Forum. We invite you to join us in celebrating the achievements of these talented Canadians.

For more about the award recipients, go to CanadasHistory.ca/awards. To watch a recording of the forum, visit CanadasHistory.ca/HistoryForum.

MCPL MATHIEU GAUDREAULT, RIDEAU HALL ©OSGG, 2019

Left: Governor General Julie Payette presents the Pierre Berton Award to historian Bill Waiser.

Above: Rob Imrie, Sarah Pashagumskum, and Chantal Mianscum represent the Aanischaaukamikw Cree Cultural Institute, which received the Excellence in Museums: History Alive! award.

Below: Kayak Kids' Illustrated History Challenge winner Kaira Picard, right, with her Member of Parliament, Celina Caesar-Chavannes.

Right: MC Sophie Fouron speaks at the History Makers gala.

Below: Elder Claudette Commanda welcomes participants to the 11th Canada's History Forum.

MATEA TUHTAR

Above, from left: Excellence in Teaching award recipients Jean-François Gosselin, Paul Paterson and Temma Frecker, with Amy Korczynski and Naki Osutei of TD Bank Group, and teaching award recipients Eric Chassé, Maxine Hildebrandt, and Lisl Gunderman, at the History Makers gala in Ottawa.

Right: Excellence in Scholarly Research award recipient and historian Elsbeth Heaman speaks at the Canada's History Forum.

Left: Young Citizens, left to right, Rémi Ouellette, Shuyou Wen, Joshua Concepcion, Oscar Cormier, Basel Al Rashdan, and Kianna Lam at the History Makers gala.

MATEA TUHTAR

Governor General's History Awards

Canada's History Society is pleased to announce the recipients of the 2018 Governor General's History Awards. For more information, visit CanadasHistory.ca/Awards

Governor General's History Awards

Excellence in Teaching

Presented by Canada's History with the support of TD Bank Group

Lisa Howell, Pierre Elliott Trudeau Elementary School, Gatineau, QC

Temma Frecker, The Booker School, Port Williams, NS

Paul Paterson, Westmount Secondary School, Hamilton, ON

Lisl Gunderman, Wildwood School, and Maxine Hildebrandt, Mother Earth's Children's Charter School, AB

Eric Chassé, École Internationale Lucille-Teasdale, Brossard, QC

Jean-François Gosselin, École Marcelle-Mallet, Lévis, QC

Excellence in Museums: History Alive!

Presented by the Canadian Museums Association with the support of Ecclesiastical Insurance

"Footprints: A Walk Through Generations" Aanischaaukamikw Cree Cultural Institute, Ouje-Bougoumou, QC

Excellence in Popular Media: The Pierre Berton Award

Presented by Canada's History

Bill Waiser, Saskatoon, SK

Excellence in Community Programming

Presented by Canada's History

"Shiloh Centre for Multicultural Roots Oral History Project," Shiloh Centre for Multicultural Roots, Edmonton, AB

"Mon vélo raconte," Société d'histoire et de généalogie de Montréal-Nord et les Artistes en arts visuels du Nord de Montréal, Montréal, QC

Excellence in Scholarly Research: The Sir John A. Macdonald Prize

Presented by the Canadian Historical Association with the support of Manulife Financial

Elsbeth Heaman, *Tax, Order, and Good Government: A New Political History of Canada, 1867–1917,* McGill University, Montreal, QC

Other Awards

Experiences Canada Award

Presented by Experiences Canada

Pat Watson, Elgin, ON

Indigenous Arts and Stories

Presented by Historica Canada

Tehatsistahawi Kennedy, London, ON
Beausoleil First Nation

Jared Boechler, Saskatoon, SK
Métis

Leah Baptiste, Brooks, AB
Deline, NT

Shelby Lisk, Belleville, ON
Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory

Kayak Kids' Illustrated History Challenge

Presented by Canada's History with the support of TD Bank Group

Jonathan Chassé, Gaspé, QC

Kaira Picard, Whitby, ON

Funded by the Government of Canada | Canada

Marking the Far North

In April 1952, I walked sixteen kilometres from the Joint Arctic Weather Stations at Alert, in what is now Nunavut, to look for a cache supposedly left at Cape Sheridan by the 1875–76 British Arctic Expedition led by George Strong Nares. I never found it, but I did stumble upon Niels Christian Petersen's gravestone, which was made of sheet copper backed by heavy planking and beautifully inscribed with a punch or chisel. The rock slab covering the grave must weigh two tonnes. I'm neither religious nor superstitious, but, standing in front of the grave in that lonely snow-swept setting, I felt the hair rise on my neck.

Petersen died while serving as a member of the Nares expedition, which aimed at reaching the North Pole but was abandoned earlier than intended due to scurvy and the lack of suitable clothing and equipment. The crew nevertheless mapped many kilometres of the Ellesmere Island and Greenland coasts and reached as far north as 83° 20' N.

Submitted by Lee Morrison of Calgary, who worked as a radiosonde operator at the Joint Arctic Weather Stations.

In Memory of
Niels Christian Petersen
Danish Interpreter
Aged 38
Who Died in the Faithful Discharge of His Duty
On Board H.M.S. Alert
14th May 1876
And lies Buried Beneath this Stone
Also of
George Porter
Gunner R.M.A.
Aged 27
Of H.M.S. Sledge Victoria
Who Laid Down His Life in the Service of His Country
8th June 1876
And was Buried on the Floe in Latitude 82.41
"Thou Shalt wash me and I shall be Whiter than Snow"

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be cropped or adjusted as necessary for presentation in the magazine. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

CANADA'S HISTORY presents:

TREATIES

AND THE TREATY RELATIONSHIP

Canada's History Society is pleased to share this special collection of articles with all Canadians. This collection has been co-edited by Manitoba Treaty Commissioner Loretta Ross and *Canada's History* editor-in-chief Mark Collin Reid.

Read this special issue online at **CanadasHistory.ca/ExploreTreaties**

We're opening doors for an inclusive tomorrow.

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